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THE MONGUORS OF THE KANSU-TIBETAN FRONTIER

THEIR ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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With an Introduction by Owen Lattimore

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PREFACE

114 During the years from 1911 to 1922 I lived as a missionary in the frontier region of Hsining in Northwest China. Among the peoples living in the region there were Chinese, Tibetans, Turkish-speaking Salars, Chinese-speaking Muslims, and a people who call themselves Monguors, and are called by the Chinese *T'u-jen,* a name that means "autochthones." Of these, I was most interested in the Monguors. The present study is drawn from notes written down at that time as well as from information in the local Chinese annals of the cities of the region and the annals of the Province of Kansu. During the years that I lived in the region, Hsining was the most important city of the Tibetan frontier of the Province of Kansu. It was only in 1928 that the vast frontier district was detached and formed into the new Province of Ch'inghai, with Hsining as its capital. (The Chinese name Ch'inghai is a translation of the Mongol name Kuke Nuur, Blue Lake, also rendered as Kukunor or Kokonor, the name of one of the outstanding geographical features of the region.)

It was in the winter of 1909 that I arrived in Kansu Province. This was the first year of the period of Hsüan T'ung when the "boy Emperor" P'u I, last of the Manchu sovereigns, ascended the throne. The Empire still had an external appearance of power and grandeur, but in less than three years it collapsed, the Emperor was forced to abdicate, and there began a long period of trouble and civil war. In 1911, the year of the Chinese Revolution, I was assigned to Hsining and studied Tibetan for half a year in the famous lamasery of Kumbum. I was then sent to a mission stationed in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, forty-five miles east of Hsining, where I continued the study of Tibetan for four years.

The Monguor people, with whom I came in contact in the course of my work as a missionary, seemed to me to be more interesting than the Tibetan tribes. All kinds of conflicting and incredible tales were current about their mysterious origin and their social organization, and very little was known about them. Having studied the history of religions and anthropology at the University of Louvain, and having studied the religions of China and taken the courses in Chinese at the University of Leiden in Holland, from 1908 to 1909, I was predisposed to be fascinated by the problem of the Monguors.

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123 Later I was transferred to the mission station of Hsining, where I was in charge of more than thirty small mission stations scattered all over the prefecture. I was in daily contact with Chinese, Monguors, and Tibetans, and had an opportunity to jot down notes from first hand observations. Some of the Christians were subjects of Monguor *T'u-ssu* or "native chiefs," and lived in Monguor villages. As a missionary, moreover, I had a certain amount of medical work to do, and in the course of this kind of work one gains the heart and confidence of the people and becomes conversant with their most inti-

114 123 mate personal and family problems. It so happened that during this period I was teaching geometry and algebra to the son of the highest-ranking Chinese city official of the prefecture, and thus had an opportunity to become well acquainted with all the Chinese officials and scholars of the city. As a consequence, I was often asked by village headmen, by Tibetan and Monguor *T'u-ssu,* and by the heads of lamaseries, to help them by explaining their problems to the Chinese officials and acting as a friendly intermediary on their behalf.

Thus for a period of years my associations with Monguors were close and cordial and it was possible for me to learn something about them. On account of the pressure of my daily work, however, it was not possible at that time for me to prepare my material for publication. All that I could do was to make notes from my daily observations and scan the Chinese annals of the region. In 1922 I was transferred to the mission of Ninghsia on the borders of the Alashan Mongol Territory. In 1927–28 I went to Europe to recover from a debility caused by malaria. Returning to China, I spent the years from 1928 to 1947 in charge of different mission stations in the Hou-t'ao region on the northern edge of the Ordos Mongol territory, and could not be released to prepare publications, because of the shortage of missionaries and the trying times in which we were living. More than once I had to bury my notes and photographs, along with my other possessions, for fear of local bandits and, in later years, for fear of Japanese raids. Finally in March 1948 I arrived in Peking, hoping to prepare my material for publication. On the way, the train carrying my papers was looted by Chinese Communists in T'u-mu. One-third of the cases disappeared. Fortunately most of my notes were saved, though most of the photographs were lost.

000 In November 1948, the political and military situation in Peking having become much worse, I came to Washington in order to finish the preparation of my material and to continue research work, making use of Chinese sources in the Library of Congress. In 1949–50 Mr. Owen Lattimore invited me to take part in the program of research on the Mongol region under his direction at the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. In the following academic year 1950–51 I received a grant from the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia to enable me to complete my work. It is a pleasure to be able to acknowledge, with the appearance of this publication, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation, the American Philosophical Society, my American and Mongol colleagues at the Johns Hopkins, and especially the time and care which Mr. H. H. Vreeland 3rd devoted to helping me in the preparation of the manuscript, and Mr. Lattimore's assistance in the final editing.

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I owe a special debt of gratitude to Rev. Father A. Mostaert, who helped me with his excellent linguistic and ethnological knowledge about the Monguors and the Mongols in general, and to Rev. Father Henri Serruys for his valuable suggestions. I cannot conclude these remarks without remembering with gratitude the considerable help graciously rendered by Mrs. Clarence D. Sasscer and Mrs. William H. Wright in preparing parts of the English draft. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. A. Hummel of the Library of Congress, for his courtesy and interest, and to the staff members for all the help rendered in making the research work possible.

Following this first volume I plan to publish a second volume to deal with the religious life of the Monguors,

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and the significance in their society of Lama Buddhism, shamanism, and certain religious practices which do not seem to belong either to Lamaism or to shamanism.

A third volume will then deal with the recorded history of the Monguor clans, and the records of civil and military offices held by Monguor officials. This volume will include a translation of the family chronicles of the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu, first written in 1600 and containing, with its later continuation, a record of the clan from 1368 to 1900—a document unique of its kind among the local and especially the frontier historical materials of China.

L. M. J. S.

Arlington, Virginia
November, 1951

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000 NOTE ON THE CHINESE SOURCES

In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to two Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these two works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih, New annals of Hsining prefecture,* in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these "new" Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected

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OOO edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsin t'ung chih, New collected annals of Kansu,* in 100 chuan, printed in the Hsüan-t'ung period (1909–1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

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THE MONGUORS OF THE KANSU-TIBETAN FRONTIER

Their Origin, History, and Social Organization

Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M.

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INTRODUCTION

by Owen Lattimore

000 In the discussion of Chinese history no concept is more widely and indeed complacently accepted than that of the absorption of barbarian invaders by the superior culture of the Chinese. The concept is a basic tenet of Chinese historiography, and has been taken over without dispute by Western students of Chinese history. Yet, in spite of this widespread assumption, which acts like a lens through which we view all Chinese history, we know in fact surprisingly little about the actual phases of transformation resulting from the invasion of the Chinese society by barbarians, and the subsequent effect of Chinese contact on the various kinds of barbarian society.

In his account of the Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Father Schram has made a contribution to our understanding of these problems that is of very great value and that in one respect is outstanding: there are important studies of a number of the frontier peoples of China, but there is no other that, like this one, is based on twelve years of direct contact with the people studied, and another quarter of a century in comparable frontier regions, such as that of Ninghsia. He went to the frontier province of Kansu in 1909, proceeded to the region where the Monguors live in 1911, the year of the collapse of the Manchu dynasty, and remained there through the first years of the Chinese Republic, until 1922.

As a missionary priest he was in contact with Monguors, with frontier Chinese living among the Monguors, and with Chinese officials administering the frontier. In the conditions of those times a missionary was often able to attain a position of great local prestige and influence, and this was perhaps especially true in frontier regions, where a non-Chinese people was often ready to regard a sympathetic missionary as being "like ourselves, not a Chinese." His parishioners consulted him about their family and worldly affairs, in addition to looking to him for religious guidance. A mission had property; it bought and sold, and was therefore a part of the economic life of the community. A missionary stationed for a long time at one post was both resident and itinerant. As a resident, he had continuity of observation over a long period; at the same time in making occasional journeys he had the great advantage of being able to make frequent comparisons. In the region where Father Schram worked this was of special importance, as in a day's journey a man could pass from a sub-region in which the principal social coloration was Chinese to one in which the prevailing element was Chinese Muslim, or Monguor, or Tibetan. This setting, inclusive of the interaction of minorities on each other, as well as the relations between each minority and the Chinese majority, is discussed with great insight by Ekvall—another observer of missionary origin, in this case Protestant.[1]

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[1] Robert B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939.

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010 A charming consequence of Father Schram's long intimacy with the Monguors was that he developed a deep affection for them. When he describes family life, the relations of parents, children, and in-laws, the daily round of work or the bustle and pageantry of ceremonial occasions, his pages are irradiated with a Flemish liveliness of delineation: his details are sharp, his colors accurate, his sense of movement perfectly balanced, and his earthy appreciation of men and women, with all their little human weaknesses, is pervaded with an affectionate sympathy.

At the same time his observation of the fabric of society is extremely realistic. On the one hand he analyzes the Monguor society so that personal, family, and community relationships can be set out with diagrammatic clarity. On the other hand, each relationship is illustrated by examples drawn from actual occurrences. In this way the reader is enabled to see first the structural framework and then—which is invaluable— the behavior of the society both under normal conditions and under stress.

One of Father Schram's most striking contributions is his study of the position and functions of the maternal uncle—who, it may be observed, was often as important in the old Chinese rural society as in that of the Monguors. There were times when the maternal uncle decided between life and death, as when, without going to the courts, a man was considered guilty of something that deserved the death penalty. In such cases it was the senior brother of the mother of the guilty man or woman who decreed the penalty, and it could not be executed without his sanction.

It has often been suggested that, in societies where property and authority are concentrated in the hands of the father's side of the family, the reservation of a particular authority to the mother's side may indicate that the society was once matrilineal and that when the transition was made from a matrilineal to a patrilineal system the transformation was not complete, some forms of authority remaining on the woman's side. With convincing clarity, through the description of actual cases involving the assertion of the authority of the mother's brother, Father Schram has shown that this assumption is unnecessary, and that the authority of the mother's brother can be a rational and consistent phenomenon in a patrilineal and patriarchal society.

The explanation is provided by the need for a device capable of mitigating the dreadful blood feuds, inherited from generation to generation, that raged among patrilineal clans. Such a clan could not inbreed. It had to take its wives from other, similar clans. A woman was, therefore, the property of her father's clan until, at marriage, she passed into the possession not solely of her

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husband but of his whole clan. This concept favored, on the one hand, a tendency toward marriage alliances. Clan A took women from clan B and gave women in return. A woman of clan B taken as a wife into clan A became the chattel property of clan A, but clan B had a residual interest in her and in her children. Her daughters could not "return," as the saying went, to clan B as wives, because of their clan B blood; but her sons could continue the marriage alliance by taking wives from clan B in the next generation. On the other hand the very same concepts could lead to feuds inherited from generation to generation if clan A stole or captured a woman from clan B without negotiating for her.

For reasons like this the institutional significance of the authority assigned to the mother's brother was that it served as an excellent device for checking the tendency toward feuds. Various crimes called for the death penalty according to the customary law of a clan-organized society. Among these, to take an example given by Father Schram, was parricide—the killing either of an actual father or a "classification" father. For those who represented the paternal line of authority in the criminal's own family to take the whole responsibility was a dreadful thing, especially since they also represented "the prosecution." Yet community feeling required that the death penalty be exacted. By placing the final responsibility on the brother of the mother of the criminal the mother's clan was represented, this clan having an interest in the matter as an ally of the injured clan—but the mother's clan was also in a sense intermediate between the primarily affected clan and the community as a whole, and it was represented by a man whose personal interest was such that he would see to it that death was not inflicted unless death were deserved. For this reason what was required of the maternal uncle was not mere consent but a positive affirmation the effect of which was that clan B renounced the right to revenge by blood feud.

The same device served, on occasion, to involve more than clans A and B. Another type of tragedy described by Father Schram is the suicide of a married woman who has found life intolerable in the clan into which she has married. Though infrequent, such cases were frequent enough to require a recognized procedure. Here clan A was that of the husband of the suicide. The brother of the mother of the suicide represented clan B, demanding atonement for the wrongs that had driven its daughter to suicide. The head-on conflict involved could easily lead to a feud between the two clans, except for the fact that the brother of the mother of the suicide was not the only maternal uncle involved. He personified revenge; but the defense was personified by the brother of the mother of the husband of the suicide, a representative of still another clan, clan C. Through him as an individual the members of clan C were institutionally involved as mediators and buffers in the conflict between clan A and clan B.

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000 As Father Schram shows, these are situations in which, although the "woman's side" is represented, it is represented by those who hold the male line of authority in the woman's clan; and since the line of authority runs through the males in both the mother's clan and the father's clan, no questions of "survival of matrilineal authority" are necessarily involved.

Essentially, Father Schram's work is a study in the balance between factors of change and factors of stability in the relations between the society of China with its landfast peasants, walled cities, and heavy machinery of government, combining an imperial autocracy which was in theory absolute but in practice distant and often blind and deaf, with the satrap-like authority of provincial governors and the pervasive petty authority of local bureaucrats, and a society of Inner Asian nomad origin which had adhered to the fringe of the Chinese realm because its hereditary tribal chieftains had become feudal wardens of the marches against Tibetan raiders and the incursions of their own nomad kinsmen from the remoter depths of Inner Asia.

Some years ago, in reviewing the book by Ekvall to which the reader's attention has just been drawn, I commented on the importance of analyzing the slow rate of change in a region like that of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier for the purpose of gaining insight into what happens under the accelerated rate of change in times of stress:

> As a slow-motion movie makes it possible to study in detail the action of a runner or a boxer, [the] data can be applied to the much faster rate of change, under the stress of war, that is affecting the northwestern provinces of China, where Moslem and Chinese populations are so mixed, and fringing Mongol and Tibetan populations so important.[2]

By the same token, the analysis made by Father Schram gives us a realistic insight into the importance of what may be called the "collapse factor" in the taking over of China by the Communists. Even during the period when he lived among the Monguors, the cumulative effect of change was threatening to make the Monguor society no longer viable. As he himself writes, in a pregnant sentence in his short chapter of "Conclusions," "During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point." To this it need only be added that the Monguors were only one link in a chain; the decay of their society was part of the decay of the old frontier structure of China; the structure of the frontier was part of the old structure of China as a whole. The whole complex, as it changed, could remain a "going concern" only "up to a certain point." Once that point had been reached the alternatives were no longer preservation *versus* decay, but quick change in the direction of democratic evolution, which the Kuomintang failed to effectuate, *versus* quick change in the direction of violent revolution, which the Communists succeeded in forcing.

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[2] Owen Lattimore, review of Ekvall, *op. cit.*, in *Pacific Affairs,* **13**: 218, 1940.

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In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the relationship between the factors of stability and change in the history of the society of China. Eberhard, for example in a recent publication of great interest and value,[3] has shown that even in times of political chaos and chronic war, with repeated barbarian invasions and the erratic rise and fall of "dynasties" that controlled only fragments of North China and lasted only a few years, a large number of "gentry" families maintained their continuity: whatever happened, they remained wealthy and politically influential. These "gentry" families, moreover, included a number that were of "nomad barbarian" origin. What Eberhard has established by analyzing the biographical sections of the Chinese chronicles is confirmed by Father Schram's description of the Monguor society in decay; it is clear from his data that the tendency was for some "T'u-ssu" or chieftain families to sink to the level of commoners, losing both wealth and privilege, but for others, partly through intermarriage with influential Chinese families, to convert themselves from the status of a frontier feudal nobility to that of powerful landlord families ("gentry," in Eberhard's sense), within the Chinese society.

The "gentry," as Eberhard uses the term, were landed families collecting rents from tenants; with this revenue to give them economic assurance, part of the gentry family lived an urban life in big provincial cities or the imperial capital, sending those of its members who passed the bureaucratic examinations to make careers in the official service. The economic success and political success of such families thus interacted reciprocally, enabling them to survive for centuries.[4]

Another combination of continuity and instability must also be noted. Among the invaders studied by Eberhard who established ephemeral dynasties in North China were the Shat'o Turks, who were historical congeners of the Shat'o component of the Monguor tribal complex. They are first mentioned in the Chinese chronicles in the seventh century. In the tenth century they founded two brief dynasties in North China, the Later T'ang and Later Chin. In part they tried to rule as a foreign military élite over their Chinese subjects; in part, however, they tried to run their Chinese domain as a "going concern," taking over the Chinese political structure and using the "gentry" families who knew how to operate the Chinese system. When their rule ended, some of their upper-class families, assimilated to the Chinese, stayed on as "gentry" families; but that part of the Shat'o

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[3] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers: social forces in medieval China*, Leiden, Brill, 1952. Other major publications of this prolific sociologist and social historian include: *Das Toba-Reich Nordchinas*, Leiden, Brill, 1949, and *A history of China*, London, Routledge, 1950 (first published in German, in Switzerland, in 1948, as *Chinas Geschichte*). His material on "barbarian" (especially Turkish) invaders of China is drawn mainly from Chinese sources and is worked and reworked in somewhat different ways in his various publications.

[4] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, as cited, chap. I, "Feudalism and gentry society."

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people (they were never very numerous; Eberhard estimates them at about 100,000) that was still "tribal" ebbed back into Southwest Mongolia. There they lingered as a minor tribal element. It is from these continuators of the tribal Shat'o that certain elements of the Monguor—mostly, it would seem, noble families—derive their ancestry.

Who were these Shat'o? The Chinese characters from which the reading "Shat'o" is taken are: *sha,* "sand," and *t'o,* "a slope, a declivity"; Giles reads the two in combination as "sandy steppes." [5] The Chinese version of the name, however, is not an etymology. Sometimes the Chinese characters chosen to render foreign names happened to be descriptive; sometimes they were deliberately chosen for derogatory or laudatory purposes. Eberhard recognizes that the Chinese characters are not enough to explain the name.[6] He cites a Chinese author, writing apparently in English, to whose work I have not had access, who "boldly identifies them with the 'Sarts,'" [7] but hesitates to accept this identification, saying that "As the Shat'o were not city dwellers but nomadic warriors, this term—even if in use so early—cannot, logically speaking, have been adopted by them.[8]

This objection, however, is not sufficient to rule out the identification of Sart and Shat'o. In the form Sarta'ul (written Sartagul), it exists as a clan and Banner name in Jasakhtu Khan Aimak, Outer Mongolia. These Sarta'ul are neighbors of the custodians, in Achitu Wang Banner, of a standard which was traditionally one of the standards of Chingis Khan and is now in the museum at Ulan Batur, capital of Outer Mongolia.[9] In the annual ceremonies venerating this standard, ceremonies which were especially splendid every third year, one of the verses sung was:

> Standard that struck and shattered the Sarta'ul,
> Slaves it made of them good and bad.

In other words, this verse commemorates the defeat and capture of the ancestors of these Sarta'ul by Chingis Khan.[10] The Sarta'ul in question are now, of course, as completely Mongol as their neighbors, but their ancestors were of the Turkish-speaking, mainly Muslim Central Asian people whom the Mongols called "Sart." In this sense the Mongol use (in the form Sarta'ul) is recorded as early as the "Stone of Chingis Khan," dating from about 1225,[11] found on the frontier of Outer

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[5] Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese-English dictionary,* No. 11,358, Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, and London, Bernard Quaritch, 2nd ed., 1912.

[6] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers,* as cited, chap. V, "The Shat'o and their culture."

[7] Chang Si-man, *New discoveries in the ancient west of China,* 19–31, Nanking, 1947, cited in Eberhard, as above, 92, n. 4.

[8] Eberhard, *loc. cit.*

[9] I saw this standard, or *tug,* at Ulan Batur in 1944. It was a staff with an iron spearhead, and just below the spearhead a large tuft or collar of hair, apparently horse hair.

[10] The Dilowa Hutukhtu, *Autobiography* (unpublished).

[11] P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes,* II, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or,* 34, Paris, Adrien-Maissonneuve, 1950.

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Mongolia and Buryat Mongolia in 1818 by the Siberian explorer Spasskii.[12] It is also found in the form Sartaq in the Qutadγu bilig.[13]

The name Sart, according to Pelliot,[14] is from Sanskrit *sārtha,* with the original meaning "merchant." The form Sartaq may be from a possible Sanskrit derivative, **sārthaka,* or from an Iranian suffix. A Mongol adjectival form is *sartaqtai,* and a feminine form is *sartaqčin* (Pelliot's transcriptions); [15] the use of the feminine form is one of the ways of forming a tribal name.[16]

It is apparent from the foregoing that the most justifiable part of Eberhard's caution in accepting the identification of Shat'o and Sart is the lack of mention of "Sart" before the eleventh century, whereas Shat'o occurs in the seventh century. On the other hand lack of written mention does not preclude much earlier spoken use, and this word, of Sanskrit origin, must have entered Inner Asia much earlier than the eleventh century. It seems a reasonable surmise that it was first the name by which Indian traders identified themselves; then it was used by Inner Asian peoples, and later by others, as a name for "foreigners"—especially foreigners who were conspicuous by differences of religion and language. By the nineteenth century, and until the Russian revolution, it was used by the Russians, and by Western travelers, as a name for any Turkish-speaking, Muslim, nonnomad, oasis dweller of Russian or Chinese Turkistan. Except for the fact that it must have been first used by wandering Indian merchants to describe themselves, it seems always to have been a name by which peoples described "foreign" peoples, rather than a name by which tribes or peoples called themselves.

This conclusion is on the whole supported by Barthold, who, while accepting the Chinese etymology of "Sha-t'o" as meaning "people of the steppe," held that they were

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[12] The mention of the Sarta'ul in this inscription refers to the conquest of them by Chingis Khan. I. Klyukin, Drevneishaya mongol'skaya nadpis' na Khorkhira'skom ("Chingiskhanovom") kamne, *Trudy gosudarstvennogo dal'nevostochnogo universiteta,* Ser. 6, No. 5: 5 and 9, Vladivostok, 1927.

[13] P. Pelliot, Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. Barthold, *T'oung Pao,* **27**: 31, n. 2, 1930. The date of the Qutadγu bilig is given as 1069 in: W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion,* 312, 2nd ed., H. A. R. Gibb, London, Luzac, 1928.

[14] Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or,* as cited.

[15] P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la papauté, *Revue de l'orient chrétien,* 3e sér., **3**: 216, 1922-23.

[16] For the form Sarta'ul, Pelliot in his Notes on Barthold, 1930, cited above, p. 31, n. 2, reviews the literature up to that date on the ending -'ul (-gul) for "names of functions." The question has most recently been taken up by A. Mostaert et F. W. Cleaves, in their Trois documents mongols des archives secrètes vaticanes, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies,* **15** (3 and 4): 437, n. 21, 1952. They describe it as a deverbal suffix, used to form *nomina actoris.* I would add that it is used to form a sort of classificatory collective, which can be used as either singular or plural, e.g. *malta'ul,* "things for digging"; *alda'ul,* "stray cattle"; *nige alda'ul mori,* "a stray horse"—i.e. "a single horse belonging to the collective category of stray horses." Is it possible that the form Sarta'ul, as contrasted with forms more regularly used as tribal plurals, could originally have been derogatory?

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000 part of the Tokuz-Oguz group of Western Central Asian Turks.[17]

What the sources indicate is borne out by the usages of Inner Asia; tribes are known sometimes by their own names and sometimes by names that, originally, were given to them by others; a tribe may be diluted by new adherents until most of those in the group are not in fact descendants of the original tribal nucleus; a portion of a tribe, attached to a new tribe, may retain its old tribal name as a clan name within the new tribe; or conversely what was once a clan may grow until it becomes a tribe. These processes are complex. They include ebb and flow, ascendance and decay, repetition and divergence, the persistence of a name through changes of language, religion, and political allegiance, continuity and change. It is by such processes, which we perceive only incompletely through the thin documentation, and with the aid of that kind of clan tradition that can be at the same time factually inaccurate and historically true, that we must account for the Shat'o element among the Monguors.

Similar processes account for the derivation and formation of the Mongol element among the Monguors. Of these processes we know more. The period to which the quasi-tribal grouping of the Monguors is to be attributed is that of the fall of the Mongol empire in China.

By the second quarter of the fourteenth century (the Chinese and "nationalist" Ming dynasty, which overthrew Mongol rule in China, was established in 1368), contact with China had affected the Mongols of Outer Mongolia chiefly at the top levels of their society and chiefly through ostentatious and luxurious forms of "culture," such as grants and subsidies to princely families related to the Imperial House, and the expenditure of public funds on palaces and temples, which had little permanent effect on the body of the society.[18]

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[17] V. V. Bartol'd, *Ocherk istorii Semirech'ya,* 20, Frunze, Kirghiz Affiliate of U.S.S.R. Acad. of Sciences, 1943 reprint of the Vernyi, 1898 ed. Barthold, who did not himself use Chinese sources, adopted the Chinese etymology from p. 452 of vol. 1 (incorrectly cited; should be p. 453) of Iakinf, *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh, obitavshikh v srednei Azii v drevniya vremena,* St. Petersburg, 1851; reprinted Moscow-Leningrad, Acad. of Sciences, 1951; citation on p. 358 of vol. 1 of new edition. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux,* St. Petersburg, Acad. of Sciences, 1903, translating the same underlying passage from the (New) T'ang Shu, chap. (*chuan*) 218, reads: "There was there a great stony desert the name of which was Sha-t'o; that is why they were called 'Tou-kiue [T'u-chueh] of Sha-t'o.'" In a later work, W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale,* Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1945, a translation of a series of lectures originally given at Istambul in 1926 and published as *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*—unfortunately the translation, the only version available to me, has been stripped of the bibliographical references—states (p. 42) that the double identification of Tokuz-Oguz from an Arab source (Mas'oudi) and Shat'o from the Chinese sources is unmistakable.

[18] F. W. Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies,* 15 (1 and 2), 1952, discusses one instance of temple-building at Karakorum, the Mongol capital

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In Inner Mongolia, on the other hand, and frontier districts of China adjacent to what is now Inner Mongolia, important Mongol and Inner Asian officials and adherents of the Mongol dynasty were given grants of land and servitors.[19] When the dynasty fell, some of these families had already become to all intents and purposes—including, probably, language, wealth based on agricultural tenantry, and alliances of interest with neighboring Chinese families—"gentry" in Eberhard's sense, as cited above. When a new, strong dynasty put an end to the time of troubles and insecurity that had accompanied the fall of the old dynasty, families of this kind found it easy to support the "mandate of heaven"—the "law and order"—of the new dynasty, and to support it as Chinese, not as Mongol adherents of a new Chinese government.

For other powerful individuals and families on the territorial fringe between Chinese agriculture and the grazing lands along and beyond the Great Wall, the search for a new security was not so easy. If their major wealth was still in their herds; if their herdsmen (some of them economic dependents, others hereditary vassals granted to them by Mongol emperors) were still for the most part Mongols speaking the Mongol language, it was to their interest to find a new status that combined security with some institutional recognition of the difference between them and the Chinese subjects of the new dynasty. They had a reason for wanting to adhere territorially to the fringe of China. Though locally they might be little potentates, their future would be precarious if they called on their dependents to follow them in a migration out into the farther reaches of Mongolia; for in this more distant territory new tribal group-

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in Outer Mongolia, and as part of his marshalling of relevant material translates the entry on Karakorum in the geographical section of the Yuan (Mongol) History, which lists important building enterprises and also changes in the institutional status of the city. The existence of a city on which so much had been spent did not in any important way change the manner of life in Outer Mongolia, much less "urbanize" it.

[19] Several important publications by F. W Cleaves on bilingual inscriptions in Chinese and Mongol throw a great deal of light on the social stature of such individuals and their families. All of these are to be found in *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies*. In The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of prince Hindu (12 [1 and 2], 1949) he deals with "the genealogy and history of a family of Turkish origin, which served its Mongol rulers for five generations." They were Uigur Turks of what is now Sinkiang Province, and held an estate in the district of Wu-wei, Liang-chou, Kansu. In The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 in memory of Chang Yin-jui (13 [1 and 2], 1950) the subject was a member of a Chinese family which for four generations was in the service of the Mongol family descended from the father of the first wife of Chingis Khan. The members of this Chinese family were therefore "subjects of the subjects" of the Mongol Emperor; they were ennobled, and their estates were in what is now Jehol Province. In The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338 in memory of Jigüntei (14 [1 and 2], 1951) the subject was a Mongol vassal of the Mongol family just mentioned, descended from the father-in-law of Chingis Khan, and was adopted into that clan, the Unggirad (Qunggirad). His estates were also in Jehol.

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ings were being formed on a rather large scale, independent of China, and here they would be at a disadvantage in competition with chieftains who had larger followings of warriors.

Here, as Father Schram shows, we have the mode of formation of the Mongol majority element in the Monguor people. The clarity with which he has analyzed the difference, in a Monguor clan, between those who are members of the true genealogical clan and those who, while adopting the clan name, are in fact merely adherents of the clan is especially significant. It confirms what we can discern from written sources: at such times as the fall of a dynasty and the establishment of a new dynasty the major frontier between agricultural Chinese and pastoral nomads had to be re-drawn, and this redrawing caused a great fragmentation and dislocation of the tribal stocks. There were groups that, following their hereditary leaders, migrated in search of a more secure territory; others, also under their traditional leaders, sought an understanding with the administrative authorities of the new dynasty; others, breaking away from those who had been their leaders, adhered to new leaders in the hope of better status. Of this process we have a dramatic glimpse in the *Secret History* of the Mongols: on the death of the father of Chingis, his tribal following broke up. One faithful retainer, trying to hold back the deserters, was taunted: "The deep water has dried up, the bright rock is shattered"—in other words, "the old order is no more, the old bonds no longer hold us." [20]

In this break-up and re-grouping lies the explanation of the way in which, among the Inner Asian peoples, we find that a name that was once a great tribal name has disappeared as a tribal name, but survives, widely scattered, as a clan name; at other times the name of a clan is expanded until it covers a large tribal aggregation. Thus "Erküt" was the medieval Mongol name for "Christians." In that sense it is no longer used or even understood in Mongolia; but in one of his most fascinating studies Father Mostaert describes the survival of "Erküt" as a clan name in two Banners of the Ordos, with crypto-Christian cult practices. He mentions the possibility that there are some also in Alashan, and cites Vladimirtsov for the survival of the same clan name in Outer Mongolia.[21] In another study, Father

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[20] See Paul Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes*, I, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, 134, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949.

[21] Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M., Les Erküt, descendants des chrétiens médiévaux, chez les Mongols Ordos, in *Ordosica* (reprint from *Bulletin* No. 9 of the Catholic University of Peking, 1934). The reference to Vladimirtsov is: B Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel'naya grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo yazyka i khalkhaskogo narechiya*, 205, Leningrad, Enukidze Oriental Institute, 1929. Vladimirtsov derives Erküt (singular *erke'ün, Mostaert, *op. cit.*, p. 1) from Greek ἀρχων, which is accepted (with further citations) by Marian Lewicki in his Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée, *Collectanea Orientalia*, 12: 32, Wilno, 1937. Mostaert (*loc. cit.*) more cautiously holds that "the origin is uncertain." I can add that in 1927, traveling

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Mostaert deals with nearly two hundred clan names found among the Ordos Mongols (many of which also occur among other Mongols), and his list includes a number that were once the names of tribes or tribal federations, or were applied to whole peoples, such as Kereit, Uighur, and Tangud (Northern Tibetan; the people of Hsi Hsia).[22] These analogies show that the inclusion among the Monguor Mongols of Turkish (and Tibetan and Chinese) elements was not anomalous but a phenomenon of a kind that recurred again and again in Inner Asian history.

Moreover, Father Mostaert, in the article on clan names just cited, touches on a point the significance of which has always eluded those (especially the Marxists) who have attempted to describe the social history of pastoral nomads. In the thirteenth-century *Secret History* of the Mongols, as he rightly notes, persons are identified by their clan (or tribal) affiliation, and this usage continued as late as the chronicle of Sagang Sechin (Sanang Setsen), completed in 1662. This method of identifying people by the social organization to which they belonged was characteristic of a society of nomads in which the primary form of power was control of a tribal following. The most important form of property was livestock, and as this kind of property was mobile a tribal chief was always willing to move from one region to another if by so doing he could, when on the offensive, increase the number of people under his control or, if on the defensive, keep his tribal following undiminished, because the way to the control of territory and revenue was through the control of people.

The situation was different when the dominant form of power in the life of a "tribal" people was that of a great empire. It did not matter whether the empire was Chinese in origin, like that of the Ming, or barbarian like that of the Ch'ing (Manchu) or that of the Mongols themselves in the thirteenth and fourteenth cen-

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on the Mongolian frontier of Sinkiang, I met a member of a community living in the Barkul mountains and believed locally to be of mixed Chinese and Mongol origin, who are called Erhuntze. This term is explained by the people of the region, whether their own language is Chinese, Turkish, or Mongol, as a Chinese vernacular expression (with enclitic *-tze*), meaning "bastards," or "half-breeds." It is, however, undoubtedly, though I did not recognize it at the time, the Chinese form of Mostaert's *erke-ün, theoretically reconstructed singular of the Mongol plural Erküt. See Owen Lattimore, *High Tartary*, 5-6, Boston, Little, Brown, 1930. It has not hitherto been noted that the accidental resemblance between Chinese *erhun* (which is not a literary term and therefore is not found in the sources) and Greek ἄρχων, classically "a commander, a magistrate," and later "a (Christian) priest" accounts for a term used by Marco Polo and later recorded widely in Inner Asia, even as far afield as Ladakh and Tibet, with sometimes the meaning "Christians," sometimes the meaning "people of mixed blood," and sometimes, as in Marco Polo, both meanings. Lack of knowledge of the link makes inconclusive the discussion of the term "Argon" in Sir Henry Yule, ed. and rev. Henri Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo,* 1: 289 sqq., London, Murray, 3rd ed., 1921.

[22] Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C [illegible]. Les noms de clan chez les Mongols Ordos, in *Ordosica,* as cited.

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turies. The dynastic power drew its main revenue from a settled population of farmers and city-dwellers. The most important forms of property were no longer mobile. The most important single source of private wealth was land, through the ownership of which the landlord dictated to the peasant the terms of the bargain under which the peasant cultivated the land; the most important sources of public revenue were the tax on land and taxes on kinds of trade which rested in fact on immobile property, such as the mulberry plantations which produced silk, or salt mines, salt wells, and so forth. To maintain a situation favorable to the dynasty, the rulers, if like the Ming they were Chinese, did not want their frontier auxiliaries, like the Monguors, to be tribal groups which, by migrating, might at any moment join a barbarian invader. They wanted feudal levies, located permanently in known territories, so that the government always knew how many troops it could summon on each sector of the frontier.

Even under the dynasty founded in China by the Mongols themselves, although the rulers regarded the Mongol tribes outside of China as their chief reservoir of politically reliable manpower, as soon as the Mongol ruler was no longer the chief of a society of nomads in search of conquest his concern for the mobility of his Mongol followers was modified. As an emperor administering a conquest already made, and ruling from a fixed capital in China, it was now his concern to know on the one hand where each part of his military reserve was geographically located and on the other hand to restrain those tribal shiftings of the followers of chiefs that led to tribal war and through tribal war to the rise of some new "great khan."

Father Mostaert correctly attributes the decline in importance of clan names among the modern Mongols to the Manchu policy, which was of the "feudalizing" kind that I have described, of creating territorial "Banners" which were assigned to hereditary princes. By this means the former tribal followings were broken up because, as he notes, people of different clans were assigned to the same Banners (and, it should be added, people of the same clan to different Banners), which "led naturally to distinguishing individuals according to the Banner from which they came and no longer according to the clan to which they belonged by birth," which "relegated the clan names to the shadows." [23]

Indeed, Father Mostaert's shrewd observations warrant an important inference: that historically, when we find frontier affairs recorded primarily in terms of negotiations with "barbarian" chiefs, the society of the frontier people in question is still tribal; when the most important administrative events recorded are allocations of territory, the social system is passing from the tribal to the feudal. Given the cyclical pattern of Chinese history as a whole, however, with its rise and fall of dynasties and its recurrent barbarian invasions almost up to

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[23] *Loc. cit.*, 22.

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000 modern times: it cannot be said that there was ever a time in which all tribal societies were completely eliminated on every sector of the frontier, or a time in which a full feudal order was everywhere established, with no survivals of the tribal order of mobile property, chief, and tribal following.

Fluctuations between the tribal order and the territorial-feudal order were characteristic of frontier politics in the period when a new dynasty was consolidating its power in China. The structure and size of new territorial allocations were governed by the relations of the frontier chiefs with the new dynasty. Some chiefs fought for their independence and kept up an intermittent hostility, as did most of the important khans of Outer Mongolia during the period of the Ming Dynasty in China (1368–1644). Or, as in the case of the Monguors on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier and most of the Mongols of the Ordos and Inner Mongolia during most of the Ming period, the local chiefs might consent to become guardians of sectors of the Chinese frontier, the chiefs thus becoming in fact feudatories bound to their assigned territories and their former tribal followings feudal subjects bound to their lords.

The status of "wardens of the marches" did not rule out the possibility that, from time to time, trouble might break out between the Chinese and their watchers of the frontiers; Father Schram shows us what troubles of this kind were like in his account of the Tibetan frontier wars in the eighteenth century under the next dynasty, that of the Manchus. A group of the frontier people might turn both against its own rulers and the suzerain Chinese power. A frontier potentate might experiment with the possibilities of becoming conqueror and ruler of China. Or, by a form of blackmail, the suzerain power might be made to see that, unless one or another of its frontier groups were more lavishly treated, they might get out of hand. In the chronicles, the language must be carefully watched. What passes as a pious account of loyalty suitably rewarded may in fact record a payment of blackmail.

Religious politics, again with a frontier flavor, must also be taken into consideration. It has been too long a cliché, accepted and transmitted without examination, that the Manchus encouraged the spread of Lama Buddhism among the Mongols in order to make them less warlike. Father Schram's account of the troubles with Tibet in the early eighteenth century is a valuable addition to the already ample but neglected evidence that, on the contrary, no wars among the Mongols (and the Tibetans) were bloodier than those fought in support of rival "pacifist" Buddhist factions.

Father Schram's account is fully supported by the important new work in this field of L. Petech, who shows that while influence over the Tibetan pontiffs was part of the Manchu policy for integrating their control over Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and Outer Mongolia, it was also part of the same policy to cut off communications be-

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000 tween Lhasa and the Western Mongols, known variously as Oirad, Jungar, or Kalmuk.[24] The reason for this dual policy was that in the first group of regions the Manchus promoted not simply religion but the landed possessions, revenues, and institutional authority of the church in order to check the formation of over-large and therefore dangerous regional units controlled by Mongol and Tibetan nobles whom they did not rule by direct administration. It was for the same reason that the Manchu policy was to prevent members of great and powerful families from being selected as "Living Buddhas." Such families, if they controlled both ecclesiastical and secular institutions, were dangerously capable of building up a centralized power capable of challenging the dynastic authority of the Manchus. The perfectly logical aim of the Manchus was to create and maintain a situation in which they themselves could dispense favors to the princes of the church with one hand and to the secular princes with the other.

Until late in the eighteenth century the Western Mongols were recalcitrants whose ambition it was to exercise in Inner Asia precisely the same combination of church and state policy that the Manchus considered a prerogative of their own dynasty. It was, therefore, the Manchu policy to bar these Mongols from Tibet and, far from relying on the supposedly benign and pacifying effects of Buddhism, to prevent the Western Mongols from having any influence over the Dalai and Panchan Lamas, to prevent them from sending their own priests to study in Tibet, and even to prevent them from receiving Buddhist missionaries, although as an alternative it was suggested that Jungar priests might be allowed to study at Peking and Jehol, where of course they would be under the eyes of the Manchu authorities.[25] As a lasting consequence of this policy there were no important "Living Buddhas" among the Western Mongols, with the further consequence that because of the difference in the religious factor there have been notable differences in the modern nationalism of Western Mongols and other Mongols. These differences account for certain peculiarities of Mongol politics not only in the pre-Communist revolutionary period, beginning in 1911, but even after 1920–21 when Communism was introduced into Outer Mongolia.[26]

The relations that have here been discussed represent a form of feudalism, specifically a frontier feudalism with the patterns of a superseded tribalism tending now and then to come to the surface again; but since the terms "feudal" and "feudalism" are used differently by many different writers, the discussion can be clarified by defining the senses in which they are used here.

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[24] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, Leiden, Brill, 1950. Petech does not at times seem to realize all the implications of his rich source material.

[25] Petech, *op. cit.*, especially 186, 214. Petech states the facts. The conclusions I have drawn as to Manchu policy are my own.

[26] I shall deal with this question in more detail in a study I am preparing of the life and times of the Volga Kalmuk Dambijandsan, who declared himself both a "Living Buddha" and a reincarnation of Amursana, who in the eighteenth century, after briefly serving the Manchus, led the last stand of the Western Mongols against them. Dambijandsan's Western Mongol origins go far to explain his extraordinary career as adventurer, revolutionary, and counter-revolutionary. [p. 10b]

A *first phase* of feudalism, in my view, may be said to manifest itself at that stage of political evolution at which the concept of a territorially large, inclusive realm already exists, but distances are so great, communications so poor, and the techniques of mobilizing, applying, and administering the manpower of the larger state so imperfectly developed that in fact most social activity, including production, taxation, trade, administration, and war, is carried on within regional divisions of the larger realm. These divisions are the feudal units, the rulers of which are hereditary. It is economically characteristic of this feudalism that most production and consumption are within the regional unit. Most of the trade between regional units is not in necessities but in luxuries, and is not subject to the kind of play of the market that a cost accountant can readily analyze in terms of materials, wages, transport costs and reinvestment, but is governed by the caprice of princes, who may at one moment outrageously tax or expropriate the merchant and at another encourage and protect him and reward him with a lavishness that goes far beyond what any modern society would consider a reasonable mercantile calculation of profit percentages.

Once the realm has in fact been unified, this feudalism struggles to survive. The sovereign of the unified realm may be, within widely fluctuating limits, either the creature or the master of the previously existing feudal nobles. There is a long-drawn-out rivalry between the ministers of the sovereign and the feudal nobles over the collection of revenue and the exercise of authority.

When, however, the realm has been so definitely unified that despite the survival of the antecedent feudal power the power of the sovereign is unmistakably paramount, a *second phase* of feudalism begins, which is distinct from the antecedent feudalism in that it is particularly associated with the frontiers of the realm. This second phase is to be accounted for by the fact that, although the realm has been unified, it cannot be indefinitely expanded.

Among the factors accounting for diminishing returns in the benefits of expansion are the survival of regional markets and the lack of a true national market, owing to the costs of long-range transportation under pre-industrial conditions and, most important of all, inability to project a uniform agriculture, and the cities, handicrafts, administration, and military system associated with it, into uncongenial terrain. In the case of China, the problems of uncongenial terrain are illustrated by the highlands of Tibet and, historically the most important of all, the steppes beyond the Great Wall. China south of the Yangtze represents, on the other hand, the kind of problem that could be surmounted stage by stage, one region after another being added to the realm and the main difficulties being the extension of administrative outreach and economically profitable long-range transportation.[27]

Where a uniform agriculture could not be extended into unsuitable terrain, assimilation gave way to differentiation, marked by fortified frontiers. The Great Wall defined the steppe frontier of China; other empires excluded other kinds of terrain, either desert or steppe or forest, as shown by the ancient walled frontiers of western Inner Asia and the Near East, South Russia, the Roman Rhine-Danube *limes*, and wall-building even in Roman Britain.[28] The fact that these frontiers excluded the barbarians has always been recognized; less attention has been paid to their significance as limits deliberately set to the expansion of the wall-building empires.

Renunciation of expansion and exclusion of the barbarian did not, however, solve all the problems that arose; administrative and institutional devices had also to be employed. Of these the most important was the adoption of a "second phase" feudalism. In the case of China, adjacent barbarians were allowed to adhere to the fringe of the empire, under sanctions that were unmistakably feudal: territorial units were created, the rulers of which held hereditary titles and were subject to promotion or demotion by the Emperor of China; but control of the feudal unit was indirect—the feudal ruler, not the civil servants of the imperial bureaucracy, collected taxes, administered justice, and commanded the military levies. The function of the feudal frontier adherents was to protect the frontier against their own kinsmen, the outlying or trans-frontier barbarians. It is to this second phase of feudalism that the Monguors of Father Schram belong.

It should be added that two variants of this second phase of feudalism can be recognized, according to whether the sovereign belonged to a dynasty originating within the realm or to a dynasty founded by barbarians who had conquered the realm by breaking through the fortified frontier. For in pre-industrial history the integration of the steppe and the town was as impossible for barbarian conquerors of the realm as it was for the original civilized creators of the realm, and consequently, when a barbarian conquest succeeded, the conqueror brought part of his armed following with him, to station as garrisons among the conquered, but stationed others on the frontier to hold it, under the same form of feudal service, against a possible challenger arising in the trans-frontier who might attempt a conquest of the conquerors. The Monguors of Father Schram illustrate both variants. They served the Ming dynasty, of Chinese origin, and the Ch'ing dynasty, of Manchu origin, in precisely the same way.

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[27] In contrast with the northern frontier, with its big wars and its permanent differentiation between Chinese and non-Chinese, "the tribes of the south . . . were dispersed peoples, who fought mile by mile before they surrendered each pocket of land . . . the spread of the Chinese was therefore a problem of social cohesion and economic organization, of drainage and irrigation, roads and trade and administration; and this was a problem that each generation of the southward-advancing Chinese took up afresh and on the spot."—Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 439, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951.

[28] Lattimore, *op cit.*, introduction to the second edition.

This concept of a first phase of feudalism which belongs historically to the process of growth toward a unified realm and a second phase associated with stabilization of the frontier of a realm which has already been unified but has ceased to expand may need to be modified if it is applied to the history of feudalism elsewhere, especially in Western Europe; but in my opinion it conforms well to the successive periods of Chinese history. It clarifies the approach to "classical" Chinese feudalism, in the closing centuries of the pre-Christian era, and helps to answer, in the affirmative, the question whether effective feudal forms did in fact survive in the later Chinese state, which was in theory autocratic and administered bureaucratically by an imperial civil service.

My views in this matter appear to resemble in general those of Wolfram Eberhard, but with differences in detail that may prove to be important. Eberhard considers that feudalism is closely related to forms of conquest leading to "superstratification," when a conquering group imposes itself on the conquered; especially "ethnic superstratification," when the conquerors are a different people from the conquered.[29] Here his

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[29] W. Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, as cited, 3 and 4. In this work Eberhard's selection and presentation of material are influenced by the fact that he is in large part replying to attacks on his theories by K. A. Wittfogel—e.g., Wittfogel's review of Eberhard's *A history of China*, London, Routledge, 1950, in *Artibus Asiae*, **13**, Ascona, 1950. The differences of approach and method between the two may be briefly summarized. Eberhard is primarily a sociologist and secondarily a social historian. He has done field work in China and Turkey and has a command of Chinese sources that is to be envied by many sinologues. In dealing with Chinese sociology he has a tendency to invent his own terms (e.g., "gentry society"), which has the advantage of not coloring the problems he is attempting to analyze with the connotations of terms that have long been applied to similar but not necessarily identical problems in other cultures. Wittfogel, once a militant orthodox Marxist, later became a deviant Marxist. His theories stem from bitter controversies among Communists in the 1920's and 1930's. In his *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Chinas*, 1 (only volume published), Leipzig, Hirschfeld, 1931, he made brilliant use of non-Communist materials and also began elaboration of his own theory of an Asiatic society in which the need for administration of public works for irrigation, flood prevention, and canal transportation led to the hardening of a despotic state managed by a self-perpetuating bureaucracy. This theory excluded feudalism as a significant factor in post-imperial states in Asia, and has been followed up by Wittfogel so relentlessly that in his other major publication (with Feng Chia-sheng), *History of Chinese Society: Liao* (*Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, **36**, 1946), Philadelphia, 1949, describing a barbarian conquest dynasty that ruled in parts of China, Manchuria, and Mongolia from the tenth to the twelfth century, the word "feudalism" is to be found only once in the index, with a reference to the pre-Christian era, although many of the phenomena described would be classified by Eberhard as a feudalism of ethnic superstratification and by me as second-phase, frontier feudalism. Although he admits (p. 45) that certain territories were "fief-like," he blurs the issue by using for them the term "entrusted territories," although from the description and the original Chinese term an

000 argument appears to agree with my concept of a second-phase frontier feudalism, with the important difference that he makes no distinction between this and the first-phase feudalism of China in the pre-Christian era. The difference is accounted for by the fact that Eberhard puts decisive emphasis on the fact that the Chou dynasty in China "came from Western China accompanied by a group of militarily organized tribes of non-Chinese affiliation" (*op. cit.*, 3 and 4) whereas I would regard the rise of the Chou as part of the normal, non-barbarian Chinese history of that time, although admittedly they were located on the periphery and had characteristics which other Chinese regarded as barbarian contaminations.[30]

Both Eberhard's approach and mine can be used to clarify the understanding of Chinese history, I believe, because they allow for the survival of powerful landed families and the evolution out of them of Eberhard's "gentry" class, and at the same time for the perpetuation of many practices of feudal origin, of which one of the most important was the power of the gentry to exact from the peasants not only rent but unpaid services. Moreover, Eberhard's approach, though he does not make the distinction that I do between a first phase and a second phase, certainly does not deny the possibility of such a distinction, which makes it possible, in my view, to establish a graduation of historical periods from the "classical" to the later "frontier" feudalism; or, one might say, from an "ancient" to a "medieval" feudalism.

At this point a consideration of geographical factors becomes essential, because the primary characteristic of the northern frontier of China is that for so many centuries it was based on the geographical limits beyond which the Chinese could not extend their complex of economic practices and social institutions: intensive cultivation, a relatively dense population per square mile, and the multiplication of "cellular" units[31] of walled cities and their surrounding countryside. While all of the territory beyond these limits was impermeable to the extension of the Chinese complex, however, it was not uniform in itself. It varied from the oases of Turkistan, with their "intensive" irrigated agriculture and crowded

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equally good or stronger case could be made for describing them as feudally allocated territories similar in a general way to Father Schram's Monguor T'u-ssu territories. For Wittfogel, however, as a deviant Marxist, any recognition of true feudalism in such relationships, or the use of "feudal" terminology, is an indication of Stalinist Marxism. In short, Eberhard's tendency is to use new terms if the observed facts do not appear to conform to established categories; Wittfogel's tendency is to create a theoretical framework and a terminology to go with it, and to adapt the facts to the framework.

[30] Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers*, as cited, 306–308 and map, 254.

[31] See Owen Lattimore, The new political geography of Inner Asia. *Geographical Jour.* 119: 23. London, March, 1953, and the references there to *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, as cited, 56 and 39–40.

600 cities, but lack of a size making possible the creation of great states, to the open grasslands with their more "extensive" herding economy, the more desert steppe and the uplands of Tibet, with their still more widely scattered units of camps and herds, and the forests of Urianghai (Tannu-Tuva), the fringes of Siberia adjoining Mongolia, and northern and eastern Manchuria, with the most "extensive" economy of all, that of forest hunters (including reindeer users) who in order not to kill out the game had to live in such small units, so far apart, that powerful tribal organizations were not possible.

It is easy, in discussing the relationship of environment to society, to speak of what the environment "permits," or "encourages," or "forbids," and thus to suggest that nature is active in moulding human society; but it is important, in analyzing relations between Chinese and barbarians, to stick to the fact that nature is passive and that the active factor is man, through the social organizations and economic practices that he elaborates. A Chinese could become a herdsman if he wanted to, or in some cases if he had to; but he could remain a member of the increasingly specialized Chinese agricultural and urban culture only if he remained within the geographical zone in which that culture profited by practicing intensive agriculture (irrigated agriculture wherever possible) and densely populated cities. If members of that society moved too far north into a zone where there was no water for irrigation, where only rainfall agriculture could be practiced (with the additional hazard of variable yearly precipitation), and where in order to live safely on the lower yield per acre the population had to scatter out more widely, with the cities much farther apart from each other, the very texture of their culture and society became thinner, weaker, and less "typically Chinese." A little farther out, and the terrain and climate became such that a society organized on the economic principle of pasturing livestock and the social principle of tribal association could enjoy in it both more economic prosperity and more military security than a thinned-out Chinese farming society.[32]

Eberhard, in his work on *Conquerors and rulers*, which has here been so often cited because it offers so many good points of departure for the kind of analysis here being attempted, discusses on pp. 69–71 three main types of social structure among the northern frontier nomads.

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[32] Though we think normally in terms of "evolution" from extensive pastoralism to intensive agriculture, Father Schram shows that in a marginal society like that of the Monguors "devolution" could alternate with "evolution." When the change was advantageous, not only Tibetans who were more pastoral than the Monguors but Chinese who were more agricultural than the Monguors could be absorbed into a Monguor clan. He also shows how a Monguor family, if it chose to move out into the Tibetan zone and herd livestock in the Tibetan manner, could within one generation be speaking Tibetan, dressing like Tibetans and passing as Tibetans among its neighbors. It should be added that among Mongols of this general region, as well as Monguors, there has been a marked tendency toward "Tibetanization" in the past half-century.

[p. 13a]

000 With the due warning that "if ethnical names are assigned to these types, this is a generalization as correct and as incorrect as every generalization is," he lists them as:

> The Tibetan, with sheep-breeding, a high-altitude horse that loses some of its military value when brought down to lower altitudes and consequently with a considerable reliance on foot soldiers instead of cavalry in war; organized in small groups with weak leadership; temporary war chiefs whose authority ends when the emergency is over.
>
> The Mongol, with cattle as the most important livestock, but with sheep, camels, and horses, and with a stronger tribal organization than the Tibetans, including hereditary chiefs.
>
> The Turkish, with horses as the most important (though again not the exclusive) livestock, and with a stratified tribal system of "leader-tribe," "ordinary tribes," and "slave-tribes."

Eberhard does not list the Tungus-Manchu forest-hunters as a separate category.

It is attractive to make such classifications but they are not, I believe, adequate to provide a framework for the known historical phenomena. The Turks, for example, range from irrigated oasis farming through pastoral nomadism to the forest hunters and reindeer herders of Urianghai and on to the sub-Arctic Yakuts. In Tibet there are not only pastoral Tibetans and high-valley agricultural Tibetans; there is also, historically, a constant interplay, with Tibetans being incorporated into Monguor clans and Monguors and other Mongols being assimilated to pastoral Tibetans, as Father Schram shows. In Mongolia, the social stratification of overlord tribe or tribes, subordinate tribes, and subject or "slave" tribes can be historically identified; this kind of stratification is not a peculiarity of the Turks.

A better method of classifying tribes is probably by a combination of geographical region and historical period.

A society of pastoral nomads profits most from sheep, goats, cattle, yaks, horses, or camels, or various percentage combinations of these different kinds of livestock not only according to region but according to historical period or phase. The regional factors include kind of pasture,[33] winter cold, water supply and periods of water shortage, altitude and distance between good winter quarters and pastures for the other seasons. Over the whole range of Inner Asia there is no doubt whatever that the sheep, economically, is the most important animal, though its percentage combination with other animals varies.[34]

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[33] Pavel Maslov, *Konets Uryankhaya*, 46, Moscow, State Publishers, 1933, states that in the steppe area of Urianghai (which resembles the neighboring regions of northwest Mongolia and Sinkiang), a count of forage grasses shows 56 eaten by cattle, 82 by horses, and no less than 570 by sheep.

[34] This one animal provides the nomad with food (not only meat but milk); housing (felted wool as a tent covering); clothing (the sheepskin with the wool on it); fuel (where sheep are penned for the night the dung is trampled hard, and when deep enough is dug out in blocks, dried, and burned); and trading

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These regional factors, however, never operate in economic isolation. A great deal depends on factors of the historical period, such as war, peace, trade, or subsidies to the nomad chieftains (or some of them) from the Chinese Empire. The operation of these other factors may so distort the "natural" regional picture that more than the "natural" number of horses may be kept for war; or sheep, for the market in China; or camels, for the caravan trade; or agriculture may be established far out in the steppe, where water is available but where agriculture would not flourish under the ordinary conditions of the play of the market, but has flourished in more than one historical period when the local nomad ruler has established relations with China that encourage him to build a little city and try to indulge himself with the luxuries of settled civilization while continuing to rule his nomad warriors in such a manner as to ensure that the subsidy from China will not be withdrawn.

These variations are governed by the working out of the two alternative forms of what may be called "frontier feudalism"—one issuing from a barbarian conquest of China, or of parts of North China, and the other from a Chinese consolidation within China, the expulsion of the barbarians, the reaffirmation of Chinese control of the frontier and the employment of groups of nomads for the defense of the frontier against other nomads. Whether the "invading" form or the "defending" form should be treated first is a matter of more or less arbitrary choice; but in this case let us follow the order of Monguor history, since we can trace the origin of the Monguors as far back as the Mongol conquest of China.

The essential unit of the pastoral nomad tribe is the clan of blood-kinship.[35] Such clans, herding their live-

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commodities (the live sheep, wool, hides, intestines). See Owen Lattimore, The eclipse of Inner Mongolian nationalism, *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.* 23: 421–422, London 1936. There are different Inner Asian breeds of sheep, with special qualities, as noted by Eberhard, *op. cit.*, 69. See also R. W. Phillips, R. G. Johnson, and R. T. Moyer, *The livestock of China*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1945. Also Matthias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Herold, 1949, who notes (84–101) five breeds of sheep in the Amdo region of Tibet alone. Constructive criticism of this valuable but at times tendentious book is to be found in: F. Kussmaul, Frühe Nomadenkulturen in Innerasien, *Tribus*, 1952–53: 305–360, Stuttgart, Museum für Länder- und Völkerkunde.

[35] B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi stroi Mongolov: mongol'skii kochevoi feodalizm*, Leningrad, Acad. of Sciences, 1934. There is now available a French translation: B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols: le féodalisme nomade*, trans. Michel Carsow, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1948. See, at this point, the discussion of the clan, pp. 56–73. Vladimirtsov's work is of great value, but must be used with caution. He was primarily a philologist rather than a sociologist or historian. He did not use Chinese sources, and hence one of his weaknesses is that he did not fully understand the interaction of Chinese and Mongol history. Moreover, as a pre-Communist scholar who continued to work under the Soviet régime, he attempted here and there "materialistic" and "class-conflict" interpretations which on the one hand make it difficult to tell how he would have presented the same material

[p. 14a]

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stock, did not wander hap-hazardly. They laid claim to definite pastures and to the control of routes of migration between these pastures. War was a normal concomitant of their pastoral life. There was a categorical difference between war among nomads and wars of nomads against settled peoples. The horse, which gave the nomad his strategic mobility, was a part of his normal economy. The bow, his chief weapon, was also in constant use for hunting. Collective hunts, or drives for game, were at the same time an exercise in cavalry maneuvers. Moreover, both his dwelling, the tent, and his livestock property were mobile. Women, children, and cattle could be moved out of the way of attack, or could retreat with the warriors after a defeat.

For the land-fast peasant, on the other hand, war was not a concomitant of normal life, but a destructive alternative to it. Weapons and logistic transportation were a drain on the normal economy. His village and his harvest were fixed targets that could not be moved out of the way of attack. If, with his wife and children, he fled from attack, he was destitute.

Hence, from the time that a Chinese frontier existed to be raided—and our chronicle materials for this condition of frontier war go back several centuries before Christ—any prolonged warfare on the frontier tended to make the frontier nomads militarily stronger and economically richer year by year, and the frontier Chinese militarily weaker and economically poorer.[36]

War among nomads, therefore, tended to become a process in which strong leaders eliminated weaker leaders and gathered larger tribes under their rule. The most valuable prize of this kind of warfare was the ability to lead strong tribal leagues against the oases of Inner Asia, or on plundering expeditions into China, or to the conquest of China, or parts of China, and the imposition of a regular tribute.

In the first or tribal phase of warfare the building of larger tribes made necessary the extension of the principle of blood-kinship by various devices. One of these was the principle of adoption, one form of which was "sworn brotherhood," or *anda*,[37] in which each man acquired status in the other's clan by acknowledging his ancestors.[38] Another was the institution of *unagan*

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if he had not been working under a Communist régime and on the other hand are clearly such amateur Marxism that they cannot be taken as authoritative expositions of official Soviet ideology.

[36] This excludes an earlier period in which the Chinese, by occupying land amenable to their agricultural practices, prospered by their wars against the barbarians. See Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers*, as cited, 344–349.

[37] See Vladimirtsov, as cited, 76.

[38] Probably an early form of this relationship is the institution under which, as between clans, tribes, or even peoples of different language and custom, who at times are hostile to each other and at other times trade with each other, a man acquires a "sponsor" in a clan that is not his own. When he goes to that clan to trade, his sponsor guarantees him against being plundered or killed, and this protection is reciprocal. Father Schram mentions this institution as between Monguors and Tibetans. Robert B. Ekvall describes it as between Tibetans and traders in his

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bogol, or collective subjection of a clan to another clan. which was not ordinary slavery, although the word *bogol* means "slave," because the unagan bogol retained their own clans and could hold property. The essence of the relationship was that they had to defend the interests of the overlord clan *as if* they were blood kin[39] which recalls Father Schram's extraordinarily clear and interesting analysis of the fictitious clan-kinship of the subject families in a Monguor clan.

While such institutions as these were artificial extensions of the kinship clan another institution. that of the *nukur* was disruptive of the clan structure and made easier the transition to feudalism. The root meaning of the word appears to be "other" -*alter*, as in *alter ego*, "companion," "friend," in this sense recalling one of the meanings of the Greek ξένος. The *nukur* was one who declared himself the follower of someone else, thus in effect avowing a relationship stronger than his own blood-loyalty to his own clan.[40] This relationship has been interestingly discussed by Yushkov in an essay on the comparabilities (or "contemporaneities," in the sense that Toynbee gives to the word "contemporaneous" in his *Study of History*[41]), between the realm of Kiev in the ninth and tenth centuries, the Mongols just before the rise of Chingis at the end of the twelfth century, and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the sixth to ninth centuries.[42] He discusses all of them as "barbarian" states

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Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, as cited, and in several stories in his *Tibetan skylines*. New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952. Clearly, this institution is analagous to that which the Greeks called ξένος, a word which means both "stranger" and "guest-friend." The Greek term, however, appears to overlap in meaning with the term for another Mongol institution, that of *nukur*, for which see below.

[39] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80–81. Vladimirtsov does not discuss the etymology of *unagan*. J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, 340, Kazan, 1844, has *unagan* "a colt," "son of a slave," "serf," "slave." Father Mostaert, in a personal communication, informs me that a distinction should be made between *unagan*, "colt," and *unagan* (older form, *unugan*), *bogol*, "a serf born of a serf," the derivation being from *una-*, "to drop (to the ground in being born)," hence "a serf from birth."

[40] For the principal references in Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, see 110 *sqq.*

[41] For a comparison of Yushkov, Toynbee, and others, see Lattimore, introduction to the 2nd ed. of *Inner Asian frontiers*, as cited, xlii–xliii.

[42] S. Yushkov, K voprosu o dofeodal'nom ("varvarskom") gosudarstve, in *Voprosy istorii* 7, 1946, Moscow. As it is difficult for the non-Soviet and non-Marxist student and reader to know exactly how authoritative a Soviet scholar is considered to be, it is worth noting that Professor Yushkov has the rank of "meritorious scientific worker," but that his analysis of the class structure of his "barbarian" state, in the article cited, is rejected by K. Basilevich, Opyt periodizatsii istorii SSSR feodal'nogo perioda, in *Voprosy istorii* 11: 70, 1949; also that while his book on the social and political structure and law of the Kiev state is conceded to be the work of one who has earned great merit, it and the rest of his work "evoke a whole series of serious objections. A series of the author's positions is mistaken," according to a review in *Voprosy istorii* 4: 132, 1950, by L. Cherepnin. He is accused of carelessness in working up and editing his material, with the result that his book teems with factual contradictions and mistakes (p. 136).

020 in which clan structure and the economics of slave ownership were breaking down.

The *nukur* (pl. *nukud*) was not necessarily by origin a member of a ruling clan. He could be of a subject clan, or a slave, or a prisoner of war. What counted was that his personal devotion to his chosen leader superseded all ties of tribe, clan, or family. Several of the *nukud* of Chingis were appointed to high positions as generals or rulers of territories, and there can be no doubt that the institution provided an easy transition to a feudal holding of delegated territory. The institution is of great interest in comparing the origins of feudalism in Asia and Europe, for it not only recalls the Greek ξένος but in etymology and semantics is parallel to Russian *druzhinnik*, "companion-at-arms," "member of the *druzhina* or personal following" (root *drug*, "friend"; compare *drugoi*, "other"). Compare also Latin *comes*, "companion," from which derives the feudal title of "count." Undoubtedly the *huscarles* of Harold the Saxon at Hastings were analogous in function to the *druzhina* or *nukud*, for while they were his household warriors the "hus" or "house" implies a personal following independent of kinship obligation rather than a levy of kinsmen.

While artificial extension of kinship and substitution of personal devotion for kinship reveal a strain on the older structure of tribe and clan, they are not in themselves the same thing as feudalism. While the future conqueror fought tribal wars, he was still a tribal leader; it was when he conquered a settled land and attempted to set up a system of rule and the collection of tribute that feudalism began. Because of poor economic communications for the transport of goods in bulk, not only power and rule but the collection of tribute had then to be delegated, and equated with territorial jurisdictions.

The structure of rule in China after a barbarian conquest may be presented in simplified outline as follows:

1. Well within China, garrisons of the conquerors but maintenance in large measure of administration and revenue collection through Chinese mandarin-bureaucrats, of whom the most important were members of gentry families.
2. Along the line of cleavage between Chinese farmland and the pastoral steppe, reserve contingents of tribal forces. Here the tribesmen were supposed to keep up their pastoral life and warrior virtues; but their chiefs, being granted fiefs as personal domains in the adjacent Chinese farmland, began almost at once to convert themselves into feudal nobles.
3. Farther out, in the vast reaches of what are now Outer Mongolia and Jungaria or northern Sinkiang, the basic economy remained pastoral, and because of the difficulty of bulk transport was much less affected by trade, or by subsidies in goods, coming from China. Even here, however, the conqueror-Emperor granted to his most important followers fixed domains, and these potentates of the steppe imitated, as far as they could, the new luxury and prestige of those who, farther to the south, were living off the fat of China; where streams made irrigation possible, they imported farmers from China or the oases of Turkistan; they built palaces and imported artisans to build and decorate them, and to make luxury goods.

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As soon as this stratification was established, the long-range forces working toward a reversal of the process began to operate. Briefly, that part of the nomad people which had taken up posts in China became detached from the tribal "reservoir" which was the ultimate source of mobile military power. They thus became vulnerable on the one side to Chinese rebellions and on the other to defection of the still tribal part of the people; but while their rule lasted they, especially the emperor and court, had the most of wealth and privilege. The border noble, with a fief adjoining and often including agricultural land, became more feudal, and so, but to a lesser degree, did the outlying tribal chiefs.

When the imperial rule began to break down, chiefly through maladministration and the deflection of too much revenue to the private use of local officials and the surviving Chinese gentry families, with one foot in the civil service and the other in landed property, the three different strata of nomad origin were affected differently.

The garrisons, and the nobles within China who had virtually become Chinese gentry families were either killed in the internal wars that overthrew the dynasty, or remained in China as Chinese subjects of the new dynasty.

The border nobles, if by this time their agricultural and town interests had become stronger than their association with what remained of their tribal following, took service with the new dynasty as feudal nobles helping it to defend its frontier against the outlying nomads, as did the founders of the Monguor clan-chieftain lines. If they distrusted the strength and did not believe in the permanence of the new dynasty, they took those of the tribesmen or retainers of their domain who were still pastoral and withdrew into the farther outlying nomad territory; but in this case, as their following was usually relatively small, they had normally to adhere to one of the larger outlying tribal groups.

The outlying chiefs, deprived of subsidies from an emperor of their own people ruling over China, and no longer restrained by that emperor's authority to allot and take away tribal lands (which had approximated to an ability to create a mixture of tribalism and feudalism by allocating "tribal fiefs"), and to discriminate between great chiefs and lesser chiefs, reverted to the old cycle of tribal life and tribal warfare.

This reverse process, in which part of the nomad people relapsed from feudalism attached to an empire of conquest and reverted toward tribalism, has not been clarified by the Russian writers who have had in their hands the most detailed material on the economy and sociology of the Inner Asian peoples. Partly, no doubt, this is because those most learned in Turkish and Mongol sources, like Barthold and Vladimirtsov, did not also have command over the Chinese sources; and the Russians have not made up for this by teamwork among

600 those working in the Altaic languages (and in Iranian) and those working in Chinese.

We turn now to the phase of frontier feudalism, and of Monguor history, associated with a strong empire in China that makes use of non-Chinese frontier feudatories for the defense of China against raids, or against attempts at a renewed conquest of China from the steppe. The first point to be noted is that nationalism of the modern kind is not involved. The feudal noble of Mongol origin, granted a fief to be held on condition of defending China against his kinsmen, the tribal Mongols, does not feel "a traitor to his people." Even in the famous lament of the last Mongol Emperor, Togon Temur, when he was driven out of China, there is not a trace of "Mongol nationalism." He laments the loss of his palace and his life of glory and luxury. He sorrows also for his faithful nobles and his "beloved people"; but what he is lamenting is his loss of rule through them—not their loss as a "nation." [43]

There is a temptation, it is true, to see in the Orkhon Turkish inscriptions of the eighth century a Turkish nationalism, especially an anti-Chinese nationalism; but taken as a whole what they really reflect is something that might be called "warriorism"—the Orkhon Turks must be valiant warriors, they must be true to their chiefs, they must not succumb to Chinese luxury and softness (a point to be discussed below). Moreover, as much glory is claimed by the chiefs of the Orkhon Turks for their victories over other Turks as for their victories over the Chinese; and these other Turks are not gathered in as part of a movement of national unification, but are ruthlessly subjected:

> To the south the Tabgach [Chinese] people were his enemy, to the north the people of the Tokuz Oguz of Baz Kagan were his enemy, the Kirghiz, the Kurykans, the Thirty Tatar [tribes], the Kitai [here not the Chinese but the Kitans, who some centuries later founded the Liao empire], and the Tataby all were his enemies; my father the Kagan . . . forty-seven times he went forth with his army and fought twenty battles. By the grace of Heaven he conquered tribal leagues from those who had tribal leagues and deposed the kagans of those having kagans; he compelled his enemies to peace, forcing those who had knees to bend the knee, and those who had heads to bow [the head].[44]

It would be a mistake, on the other hand, to assume that because there was no inclusive nationalism of the steppe people, or even of those who spoke one language, such as Turkish or Mongol, they were politically so naive that they did not understand the workings of Chinese frontier policy. The classical Chinese expression of this policy was *i i chih i*—"to use barbarians to control barbarians." We may turn again to the Orkhon inscriptions to show that this policy was understood in the depths of Inner Asia:

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[43] Isaac Jacob Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses, verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus*, German translation, 137, St. Petersburg, 1829.

[44] The "greater inscription" in honor of Kül Tegin, 14 and 15. The most recent edition of these and other runic texts is: S. E. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoi pis'mennosti,* Moscow-Leningrad, Acad. of Sciences, 1951.

> Evil-minded people thus taught a part of the Turkish people, saying, Who lives far away, [to him the Tabgach, the Chinese] give inferior gifts; who lives near at hand, [to him] they give good gifts; with these words they thus taught thee. And ye, the people, not possessing wisdom, listened to their speech and, approaching close, perished in great numbers. O Turkish people, when thou goest to that country, thou standest upon the brink of destruction; but when thou, being in the land of Ötüken, sendest caravans, thou art altogether without grief; when thou remainest in the Ötüken wilderness thou canst live, creating thy ancient tribal league. . . .[45]

And again:

> . . . they [the Tabgach, the Chinese] caused younger and elder brothers to quarrel, and armed against each other the people and their rulers—the Turkish people brought to ruin its existing tribal league and brought destruction upon the kagan that ruled it; to the Tabgach people they became slaves, they and their strong male issue; they became slaves, they and their chaste female issue. The Turkish rulers laid aside their Turkish names and, accepting the titles of the rulers of the Tabgach people they submitted to the kagan of the Tabgach people.[46]

The principles of a frontier policy directed from within China were simple: to give each auxiliary fief-holder complete feudal power within his fief—including, as Father Schram shows in the case of the Monguors, not only the collection of revenue but the administering of justice, and going so far as to return to his jurisdiction any of his feudal subjects who attempted to leave his domain; to prevent unity by making favors uneven; and to see that those who adhered to the frontier received "better gifts" than outlying chiefs who were not under the control of the frontier system.

There were two inherent weaknesses in the policy. One was that a feudal defense of the frontier, sector by sector, was good enough to deal with small raids; but if, far out in Inner Asia, the "wars of elimination" among

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000 the tribes resulted in rolling up a really great tribal power, there was always the danger that the defenders of the frontier would go over to the attacker. This, in fact, was what happened when the Ming dynasty fell after a long period of internal turmoil. The Monguors (and a number of other non-Chinese frontier "auxiliaries") first held aside and then took up, under the new Manchu dynasty, the same function that had been theirs under the Ming dynasty.

The second weakness was that while an administration within China wanted its frontier fief-holders to be "feudal" in their devotion to the ruling dynasty, they wanted the people of each fief to remain barbarian nomads; because it was in the character of barbarian nomads that they could best furnish the hardy, nomad cavalry needed in campaigns against their own nomad kinsmen. This kind of dichotomy could not be sustained, as Father Schram's account shows; for what made it worth the while of a border chieftain to accept a feudal domain and status on the frontier was the prospect of greater, more "Chinese" ease and luxury than he could enjoy living in the manner of his tribal kinsmen out beyond the frontier. The history of the Monguors and the whole history of the frontier, including that of Inner Mongolia in recent years, shows that if the frontier feudal noble could collect more revenue from farming than from a pastoral economy, he never resisted either the conversion of his own subjects from herdsmen into farmers or the settlement of Chinese farmers in his domain. Only if the Chinese practices of farming could not master the soil and climate of such a domain did it remain pastoral.

These recurring cycles belong to a history that has now reached its end. The railroad and machine industry can achieve that economic integration which was beyond the reach of both agricultural China and pastoral Inner Asia. Father Schram lived in and looked upon an age that the West understood only imperfectly while it lasted, and that is now rapidly vanishing.

[P. 17-b]

THE LAND IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

131 631 The Province of Ch'inghai was established only in 1928. Until then, including the entire time during which I lived there and made my field studies of the Monguors, the present Province of Ch'inghai constituted the Tibetan frontier district of the Province of Kansu. It was divided into seven sub-prefectures. This study is based on the old administrative organization and takes no account of several new sub-prefectures that have since been added. It should be noted that the structure of prefectures and sub-prefectures is that of the Chinese population. Large Tibetan and Mongol groups lived outside of this organization (Kukunor, Tsaidam), and to a large extent administered their own affairs, under

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[45] The "lesser inscription" to Kül Tegin, 7 and 8, in Malov, as cited.

[46] The "greater inscription," 6 and 7, in Malov, as cited.

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131 the supervision of a governor, appointed by the Chinese
631 authorities, who bore the Manchu title of Amban.

THE COUNTRY

133 The mountainous region of Hsining [according to the great French explorer and geographer, Fernand Grenard] belongs to the range of the Nan-shan [southern mountains] whose passes have an average height of 12,900 feet, whose peaks are 14,700 feet high, and whose highest point reaches 18,000 feet. The range of the Nanshan is made up of seven almost parallel stretches of mountains running in an east-west direction, becoming lower and lower toward the eastern end.

The Nanshan range is covered by several feet of loess; the mountain slopes are overspread with pebbles, stone debris, and red deposits of the Gobi, reaching to an altitude of 1500 feet. Between the seven mountain ranges, valleys form several vast corridors, several miles wide; in the

[p. 17d]

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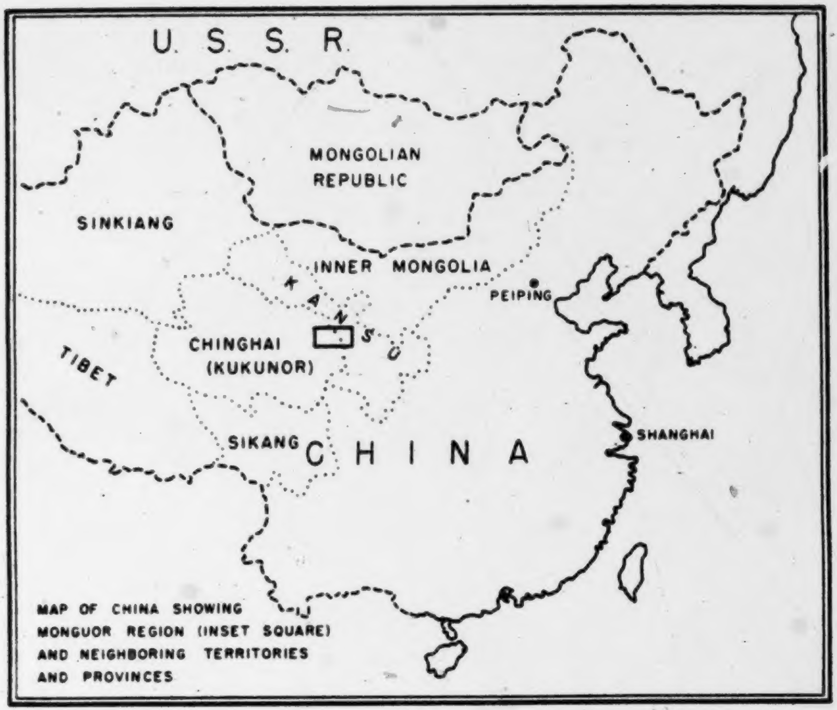
U. S. S. R.
MONGOLIAN REPUBLIC
SINKIANG
INNER MONGOLIA
KANSU
PEIPING
CHINGHAI (KUKUNOR)
TIBET
SIKANG
CHINA
SHANGHAI
MAP OF CHINA SHOWING MONGUOR REGION (INSET SQUARE) AND NEIGHBORING TERRITORIES AND PROVINCES

Map 1

[P. 18a]

133 central parts, where the soil flattens out, pebbles, sand, dunes, pastures, and swamps appear.[1]

133 Two major tributaries of the Yellow River, the
Hsining and the Ta-t'ung run through the northern part
311 of the Nanshan from northwest to east. It is in the
region of these two rivers, and the northern part of the
Yellow River, that the Monguors live. The country is
one that is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, the
mountains not being too high, while the valleys and
some extensive plains afford excellent pasture, favored
by a suitable rainfall. Most of the plains and the
134 largest of the valleys have, however, been opened to
133 cultivation. The larger valleys and plains, buried several
feet deep in loess which has been washed down from the
241 mountains, assure good harvests year after year if crops
are rotated, if streams are available for irrigation, and

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[1] Fernand Grenard, "Haute Asie," in *Géographie Universelle* 7, 361, Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1929.

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133 [133] if the Chinese system of fertilization with human manure is used. The western part of the region is colder than the eastern part, being higher and more exposed to northwestern winds, but in spite of the small climatic difference, spelt wheat, a small amount of millet, and large crops of linseed and colza are grown nearly everywhere. On the colder, western side, the earth has to be "warmed" by plowing and cultivation; when new fields are opened to agriculture, various kinds of crops have to be grown for the first seven years; only then does the earth become warm enough to grow wheat.

137 The northern slopes of the highest mountains are covered in many places with a fair growth of timber, principally spruce, and brush; poplars, willows, and sometimes birch are plentiful in the lower valleys. 311 The economic life of the country during the period covered by this study was principally agricultural and only secondarily pastoral, although pastoralism prevails in the highest, coldest, part of the country.

[P. 18c]

000 316 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 492 505 The system of communications was primitive. Ox carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims. [463] [563]

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic crises and revolts. During the anarchic period of the Three Kingdoms of the third century A.D., during which the population of China was reduced by something like three-fifths, no aid and support were available from within China, and the frontier colonies were overwhelmed.

The next period, from 265 to 589, also was a time of troubles. Different parts of North China were invaded and conquered by different nomad tribes. To some extent the invaders were absorbed by the Chinese; but to some extent also the northern Chinese were "barbarized." The main Chinese cultural area became the country south of the Yangtze.

Northern Kansu was at the same time turned upside down by nomadic tribes. Sienpi [2] tribes from northern China settled in the beginning of the second century A.D. in the region between Kueite and the Gobi, between the upper reaches of the Wei and Yellow Rivers. They fixed their capital near Lanchou, and their kingdom was called Hsi Ch'in (Western Ch'in). Lu Kuang, of Tangut origin, created at Liangchou a kingdom of Hou Liang (Later Liang). T'ufa tribes, a branch of the Sienpi, established the kingdom of Nan Liang (Southern Liang) between Hsining and Lanchou. Menghsün tribes, a branch of the Hsiungnu, founded a Pei Liang (Northern Liang) kingdom between Liangchou and Suchou (Hsüchou). Li Kao, a Chinese of western origin, created a kingdom of Hsi Liang (Western Liang) between Anhsi and Tunhuang. All of these kingdoms either annihilated each other or were eventually subjected to the Chin dynasty (Western and Eastern Chin, 265–419) or the Toba Wei dynasty (386–534). Parallel with these events, part of the border region of Hsining and Kukunor was occupied from 280 to 673 by a frontier state founded by Tuyühun tribes, also of Sienpi origin.

The next period of unification in China began under the Sui dynasty of 589–620, under which Chinese colonies were again established in Huang Chung and Kukunor in order to hold back the incursions of the Tibetans. The next dynasty, that of the T'ang, from 618 to 906, was even stronger; but even the T'ang

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[2] The data in this paragraph are based on O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* **2**: 111–114, Leipzig, de Gruyter, 1936. In **3**: 250, 1937 of the same work, citing B. Laufer, article in *T'oung Pao*, 2nd ser. **9**: 449, n. 3, 1908, Franke has the following to say on the ethnic composition of these tribes: "Laufer hat zweifellos Recht, wenn er meint, dass 'sicher türkische und tungusische Stämme und jedenfalls auch ein alteinheimisches Element (?) zur Bildung der Mongolen beigetragen haben.' Was hat es unter solchen Umständen für eine Bedeutung, wenn man die Sien-pi für 'Mongolen' erklärt, auch wenn zur T'ang-Zeit der Name Mêng-wu als Bezeichnung eines Stammes der Schi-wei vorkommt und die Schi-wei—was ganz unsicher is—die Nachkommen der Sien-pi sein sollten? Dass aus ihnen, wie aus den Wu-huan, Hiung-nu, den K'iang und vielen anderen Völkern die 'Mongolen' der späteren Zeit zusammengesetzt worden sind, kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, aber irgend welche Bedeutung für die alten etnischen Verhältnisse hat dies nicht."

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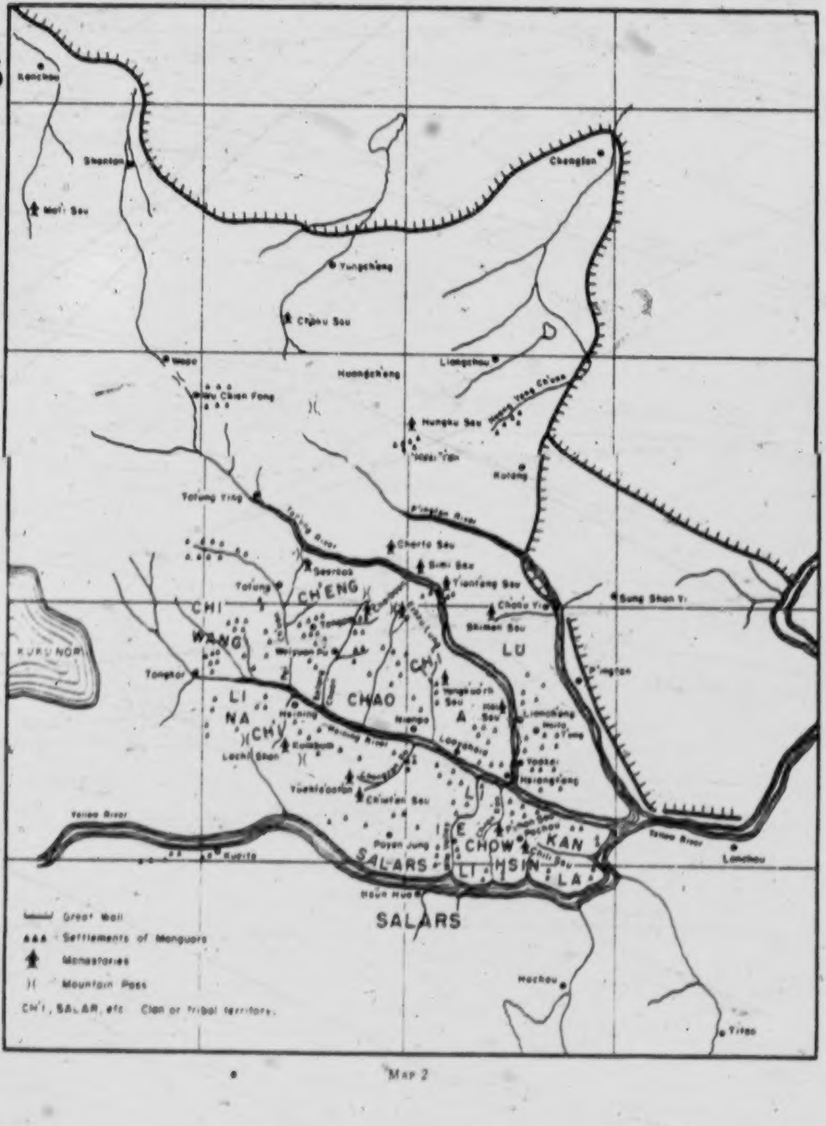
Kanchou
Shantan
Mai Sou
Yungchang
Chgmu Sou
Chenglan
Liangchou
Huangcheng
Mapo
Nu Chien Fong
Hungku Sou
Hsien Yang Ch'uan
Hsai Yin
Kulang
Tatung Ying
Tatung River
P'ingfan River
Cherto Sou
Simi Sou
Tienfang Sou
Chotu Yie
Shimen Sou
Sung Shan Yi
Serkok
Tatung
CH'ENG
CHI
WANG
KUKU NOR
Tongkor
LI
NA
CH'I
CHAO
CH'I
A
LU
P'ingfan
Hsining
Hsining River
Kumbum
Lachi Shan
Niangpo
Laoyacheng
Yaoka
Hsiangtang
Liancheng
Hung Tung
Chitan Sou
Yuchiachuan
Poyen Jung
Yellow River
Kuyita
SALARS
LI
E
CHOW
KAN
LI
HSIN
LA
Chili Sou
Yellow River
Lanchou
Houn Hua
SALARS
Hochou
Titao
Great Wall
Settlements of Monguors
Monasteries
Mountain Pass
CH'I, SALAR, etc. Clan or tribal territory.

Map 2

[p.20]

175 dynasty could not completely check the Tibetans, who were referred to in the Chinese annals of this period as T'ufan. In 672 the T'ufan defeated the T'uyühun and began to dominate this part of the Chinese frontier. They were eventually defeated in 866 not by the T'ang Chinese but by the Uighur tribes, Turkish people of Central Asia, who settled in Huang Chung and offered a nominal allegiance to China. The next period, that of the Five Dynasties from 907 to 960, was again a time of troubles and disunity in China. The Shat'o clans which are one of the components of the Monguor people of today claim their descent from the Shat'o tribes which sought refuge in China in 808 and later founded the dynasties of the Hou T'ang or Later T'ang (923–936) and Hou Chin or later Chin (936–947). During the next period, from 960 to 1280, China south of the Yangtze was ruled by the Sung dynasty; but though culturally this was one of the greatest periods in China, the Sung dynasty lost control of North China to successive barbarian invaders. Northwest China and the modern provinces of Kansu and Ningshia, together with the Ordos region, were dominated by the Chin and by a people of Tibetan origin referred to in the Chinese annals as Hsi Hsia (Western Hsia) or Tanghsiang. (The Northern Tibetans are still referred to by the Mongols as Tangud or Tangot, a plural of "Tang.") In the course of the great Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century, the Tangud of Huang Chung were defeated and driven back into Tibet. The ancient frontier region of Huang Chung was depopulated, and to replace those who had fled a number of Mongol commanders and their followers were moved into the region. Their descendants constitute the majority group within the present Monguor people.

The Mongol dynasty, overthrown by the revolt of its Chinese subjects, was replaced by the Ming dynasty (1386–1644) which renewed once more the process of establishing Chinese military frontier colonies in Huang Chung; but recurring inroads of both Tibetan and Mongol tribes kept the Ming frontier power in this region weak. The frontier was not stabilized again until after the Manchu conquest, under the Ch'ing dynasty of 1644–1911. It was in the long period of stable rule under the Ch'ing dynasty that spreading agriculture and increasing trade began first definitely to change the lives of the originally nomadic Monguor people and then to submerge them in a flood of Chinese acculturation.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY

[161] From 1911 to 1922, when I lived in this region, the city of Hsining, with a Chinese population of about 60,000 inhabitants, was the seat of a Chinese civil administrator who had authority over the Chinese of the city and the region. Law and order were assured by a local army commanded by a Chinese Muslim general. The formerly turbulent Mongol and Tibetan tribes of

[P. 21a]

175 the region came under the jurisdiction of an official with the Manchu title of Amban.

According to the *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 16, pp. 12 *a* and *b*, the tribal jurisdiction of the Amban derived from a meeting that had been held in 1732 between the provinces of Szech'uan and Shen-Kan (or "Shensi and Kansu," but embracing the territories not only of the present provinces of Shensi and Kansu but of the later-established provinces of Ningshia and Ch'inghai as well). At this meeting each tribe was assigned a fixed territory for the first time in history. The tribes allocated to the Amban of Hsining included twenty-eight banners of the Mongols of Kukunor and one banner of Mongols located in Tibet proper; the Tibetan tribes of the Kukunor frontier were reorganized at that time and for that purpose into eight major tribal groups; twenty-five Tibetan tribes of the frontier district of Yüshu, each under a chief with the title of T'u-ssu; and the very independent and warlike Tibetan tribe of the Ngoloks. By 1918, when a census was taken, the eight major Tibetan tribal groups just mentioned were reported to number 8,443 families, totaling 39,390 people.[28]

The territory inhabited by a settled farming population was divided into the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining, Nienpei, Tat'ung, Kueite, Donkir, Payenjung, and Hsünhua. The fields around the cities and big villages were tilled by Chinese, but in outlying districts Tibetans and Monguors were to be met, wearing their distinctive, non-Chinese costumes and speaking their own languages. On the southern, western, and northern fringes of the land settled by Chinese were sedentary Tibetans who farmed and also raised sheep and cattle. In enclaves within the Chinese population lived the Monguors, in well-defined valleys where there was little Chinese population. Scattered here and there were villages of Chinese-speaking Muslims. On the southern edge of the district lived the Turkish-speaking Salar Muslims.

TIBETANS

563 From the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 11–20, the names of sixty-six Tibetan tribes can be counted, and in addition the names of fifty-two villages inhabited by Tibetans in the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining. These village Tibetans were called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast with the "wild" nomad Tibetans in the Kukunor frontier district. According to the *Annals*, the village Tibetans numbered 10,683 families, totaling 42,732 people. The exact average of four persons per family suggests that these figures are more schematic than accurate. The large number of tribes given for the "tame" Tibetans can be taken only as a general guide. It is characteristic of Tibetan tribes that they very easily subdivide into new tribes, and often a group of no more than ten or twenty families will call itself a tribe. The tribal Tibetans close

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[28] Yao Ming-hui. *Yüshu tiaoch'a chi* 1, 1–24, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1920.

563 to Hsining are the remnants of the once much more powerful tribes that withdrew at the beginning of the Mongol dynasty to the Kukunor region. Those who stayed behind submitted to the jurisdiction of the officials of the settled districts. There is little cohesion among them. Those who call themselves a tribe are rarely under the control of a single chief. Tribal matters are more usually disposed of by the elders of the group. The religion of all these Tibetans is Lama Buddhism. The prevailing sect is that of the Yellow Hats or reformed sect, but in the southern districts there is a fairly strong survival of the older Red Hat sect. Shamanism also continues to flourish among the Tibetans, in spite of Buddhism; their shamans are reputed to be the most powerful in the country. There are a few Tibetans living near Hsünhua who have become Muslims.

MONGUORS

563 175 618 In the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining there were then living sixteen clans of Monguors, to which should be added the Liench'eng clan, living in the territory of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. The word "clan" has been used in many senses in the literature of the social sciences. It is here used in a special sense, and for lack of a more precise term, to describe a group of people ruled by the same chief, all people born into the clan bearing the same surname as the chief of the clan and living on territory belonging to the chief. The Monguor clans (excepting the Shat'o groups) trace their presence in the Hsining district as far back as the period of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1260–1368). On the overthrow of this dynasty they submitted to the Ming dynasty. A fixed territory was then assigned to the chief of each clan. The Tibetans of the Hsining district were assigned territories in the same way at the same time. While the Tibetans were subject to the direct administration of the Chinese sub-prefecture officials, however, the Monguors, in spite of the fact that their territories formed enclaves within the sub-prefectures, were directly administered by their own clan chiefs under a peculiar kind of local autonomy.

MUSLIMS

563 The Hsining district is also an important Muslim stronghold. There are three Muslim groups, of which two still speak a Turkish dialect while one speaks Chinese. According to their own tradition, the Chinese-speaking Muslims are of Turkish origin, but while clinging to their religion they have adopted the Chinese language and many Chinese customs. From the Chinese point of view, however, they remain foreigners and barbarians, and there is cordial mutual dislike between Chinese and Chinese-speaking Muslims. In the Chinese *Annals* I have not been able to find any reference to the date of their earliest settlement in this region, although according to popular tradition they arrived either during

the T'ang dynasty (618–906) or the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368).

The presence of Muslims in the Hsining district under the Yuan dynasty is however evidenced by two passages in the *Annals*.[2a] One of the sixteen Monguor clans, the small clan of Yeh, is described as being of Ch'ant'ou origin, and Muslim by religion. The term Ch'ant'ou, meaning "those who wear a turban on the head," is commonly applied to central Asian Turkish Muslims. Since this clan submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 at the same time as the other Monguor clans, it must have been settled in the country under the preceding Yuan or Mongol dynasty. (Provincial *Annals*, ch. 42, p. 52.) It is also stated in the same *Annals* (ch. 42, p. 43) that the Salars also submitted to the Ming in 1371, when two of their chiefs were granted the rank of T'u-ssu. According to popular tradition they came to China from Samarkand under the T'ang dynasty. The *Annals* give no evidence for or against this tradition, but show that they were at least living in China at the end of the Yuan dynasty.[2b]

The religious fanaticism of the Muslims has been their strength and their weakness.[3] It has enabled them to hold their own against the Chinese, but rivalry between sects has prevented complete cohesion. One sect, commonly known as the Old Religion, belongs to the Hanefite school; that is to say, it bases its religious doctrines on the Koran and on the Sunna or tradition. The other sect, known as the New Religion, is divided into a number of subsects and derives from the schools of the Shias and the Sufis. This sect holds that religious leaders are invested by God with special "grace"; this grace can be passed on to their sons who succeed them as religious chiefs. Owing to this belief, the sect is always exposed to the danger of further subdivision through the appearance of new claimants to religious leadership who declare themselves to be endowed with "grace." Owing to its belief in this kind of religious inspiration, the sect is marked by its devotion to the cult of saints and their tombs.

The Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found in the cities and in villages to the west, south, and north of Hsining. Occasionally a few Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found living in villages of the non-Muslim Chinese, but non-Muslim Chinese do not live in the villages of the Muslims. While the Muslims engage in agriculture, their most important and profitable activities

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[2b] The following references to the Muslims of Northwest China are from *Moslem World*, New York: M. E. Botham, Islam in Kansu (**10**: 377–390, 1919); H. D. Hayward, The Kansu Moslems (**24**: 68–80, 1934) and Han and Hwei in the Kansu-Sinkiang marches (**26**: 62–67, 1936). See also G. F. Andrew, Islam in North-West China today, *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.*, London, **19**: 89–100, 1932.

[3] Kansu was disturbed by Muslim rebellions in 1648, 1781–1784, 1820–1828, 1862–1878, 1895–1897; a revolt broke out in 1909 but was suppressed by the Muslim chiefs themselves; between 1918 and 1921 the situation was very tense; the last revolt, 1928–1929, was headed by Ma Ch'ung-ying.

563 are in the grain trade, and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides, and lamb skins. 463 Their importance in the boat and raft trade on the Yellow River has already been noted; and many Muslims are innkeepers on the roads of Kansu. Even the astute Chinese respect them as formidable rivals in trade. There is a Chinese saying to the effect that "one Muslim asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," and another that "the food of the Muslims is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted." It is also said that "out of ten Muslims nine are thieves."

SALARS

563 The Salars live chiefly in two groups in the subprefectures of Hsünhua and Payenjung.[4a] The famous Chinese Muslim general, Ma Fu-hsiang, who enlisted many Salars in his troops, mentions the tradition that the Salars came to China as early as the T'ang dynasty, and describes them as having settled in their present homes under the Yüan or during the Ming dynasty. He divides them into two groups, the "inner five clans" (using for "clan" the Chinese word *kung*) and the "outer eight clans." The "outer" group, according to General Ma, is one that has lost its Turkish language and now speaks Tibetan. The Salars preserve their old customs and traditions by marrying only within their own groups.[4] I have often been told by Uighurs from Sinkiang who used to come to Hsining every winter to deal in Russian leather, boots, and cloth that they could not understand the dialect either of the Salars or the Turkish-descended Monguors of the Yeh clan.

The Salars are the most fanatical of all the Muslims and during the great Muslim revolts against the Chinese they have always been the fiercest and the most cruel warriors. General Ma Fu-hsiang carefully distinguishes the Salars from the Tibetans, from the groups of Mongol origin converted to Islam, and from the Tibetan-speaking group of Mongol origin which has also been converted to Islam. He himself belongs to the group of converts of Mongol descent. This group is called "San-t'a" by both Tibetans and Monguors.[5]

[4a] General references: R. B. Shaw, On the hill canton of Salar. The most easterly settlement of the Turki race. *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, London, **10**: 305–316, 1878; G. F. Andrew, Ancient Chinese Koran. *Moslem World*, New York, **24**: 84, 1934; C. D. Holton, Salars. *Friends of Moslems*, Hankow, **19**: 13, 1945. See also article "China" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* **1**: 839–854, Leyden, Brill, 1913–1934.

[4] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuang-k'uang* (General account of Mongolia and Tibet), 200, Nanking, Chunghua Publishers, 1936.

[5] According to A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIIe partie, Dictionnaire monguor-français*, 324, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1933, "san-t'a" is probably from *sarta'ul*, "Musulman." See also P. Pelliot, in *T'oung Pao* **27**: n. 2, 1930: "*Sarta'ul*, nom mongol des Musulmans (surtout de ceux du Turkestan russe) au Moyen Age."

[P, 23a]

175 We may now summarize the general history of this area. From 116 B.C. to A.D. 1280, military colonies were intermittently established in Hsining and the country was "officially" divided into sub-prefectures; these disappeared several times and their existence was always precarious, because of the inroads of nomadic tribes; in fact the population of the country appears to have changed many times. During the Mongol dynasty (1260–1368), the entire Hsining region was for the first time firmly annexed to China by the Mongol conquerors. The Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started off with an improvement in the organization of the country, following the Chinese pattern, but was not very successful in this undertaking because of inability to prevent inroads by nomads. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911), benefiting by the experience of the Ming, succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighboring tribes of Kukunor, assigning definite territories to each of them, and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes, they were able to develop the country peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighboring tribes.

II. THE MONGUORS

The origin of the Monguor clans, of the name "Monguor," and of the Monguor language has been a puzzle for both foreigners and local people. After presenting the enigma, I shall present some data about the name of the Monguors and the solution of the language problem. I shall then deal with the historical solution of the Monguor enigma, revealing successively the origin of the Monguor clans and the time of their first settlement in Kansu, the nature of this settlement and the distribution of the Monguor clans, population figures, and the expansion of the Monguors throughout the country.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO FOREIGNERS

114 *Huc and Gabet*, in their famous journey to Lhasa (1844–1846), record their passage through the country of the Monguors of the Three Valleys (San-ch'uan), called Dschiahours by the Tibetans and T'u-jen by the Chinese. Their traveling companion, Samdadchiemba, was himself a Monguor, a subject of the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of the Three Valleys. Huc and Gabet describe the people as appearing to be of "Tartar" origin and their language as seeming to be a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and Tibetan.[1]

Prjevalski, who traveled in the region in 1873, calls the Monguors "Daldy," describes them as more like the

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[1] Huc and Gabet, *Souvenir d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Tibet, 1844–1846*. **2**: 36–37. Paris, edition of 1878.

[P. 23-6]

114 Muslims than the Chinese, and says that their language is a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and unknown words.[2]

After his second journey in Kukunor and Tibet (1879–1880) he writes that the Daldy are called Karlun by the Tibetans and Tunschen by the Chinese and Mongols (p. 186): although he is convinced that the country of origin of the Daldy, like that of the Kirghiz, is the region of Samarkand, and that they are a mixture of the "Aryan" and "Mongol" races, but, having mingled with Chinese, the original type has disappeared; among the women, however, once in a while the genuine type is discernible (p. 188).

He notes also the legend told among the Mongols, that when Chinghis Khan ruled in the Ordos he rode so fast a horse that in twenty-four hours he could reach Kukunor for a hunting party. Once a high official accompanied Chinghis and when he saw the country of Hsining he enjoyed it so much that he settled there with his subjects and became the founding ancestor of the Daldy tribes (p. 187).

114 101 *Potanin*, who traveled in this region in 1884–1886, refers to the Monguors as "Shirongols." He says of them that they call themselves "Mongol" or "Chagan Mongol" (White Mongol) and that some of them call themselves "Chzhahor"[3] (p. 374). The Chinese call them T'u-jen and the Mongols of the plain give them the name of "Dalda" (Doldo), or "Dolon helite doldo," which means the "doldo with seven languages." Potanin says that he prefers to call them Shirongol, because that word is better for use in the Russian language. He had heard this name used in the Ordos by the conductor of his caravan, "Santan Dzhimba," who himself belonged to the T'u-jen group of Amdo. However, neither "Shirongol" nor "Dalda" is a name known by the Monguors themselves. Only Santan Dzhimba used the name "Shirongol," explaining "Shiro" as related to "Shoro," the Mongol word for "earth" or "soil." The neighboring Tanguts, according to Potanin, called the Monguors "Cha-hor": "Cha" meaning "Chinese" and "Hor" being the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet. This term would therefore mean "Chinese Mongols." The Shirongols call the Tanguts "Tebe" ("Tubet" is the Mongol word for "Tibetan"); they call the Chinese Ch'itai (Kitat is the Mongol form), and the Mongols of the plain "Doro gadzoren Mongol"

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[2] Prjevalski, *Mongolie et le pays des Tangoutes*, 172-173, 1880; Prjevalski, *Reisen in Tibet*, 186–187–188, Jena, 1884. For the original passages in Russian, see: N. M. Prjeval'skii, *Mongoliya i strana Tangutov*, 199-200, Moscow, State Publishers, 1946; a reprint described as "slightly abridged," of the original St. Petersburg edition of 1875; the reprint edition has a commentary by E. M. Murzaev (see p. 315 for his notes on the "Daldy" or Monguors). The second reference is to: *Iz Zaisana cherez Khami v Tibet i na Verkhov'ya Zheltoi reki*, also available in a "slightly abridged" edition (Moscow, State Publishers, 1948) of the St. Petersburg edition of 1883; see pp. 264-265 of the reprint edition.—O. L.

[3] This is the term rendered by Huc and Gabet as "Dschiahour" (see above). See also below, p. 23, n. 1.—O. L.

[p.24a]

114 101 (Mongols of the lower land) (p. 375). ("Santan Dzhimba" is, of course, Potanin's version of the famous "Samdadchiemba" who had previously accompanied Huc and Gabet.)

Potanin refers further to the opinion of Uspenski, who disproves the theory of Prjevalski concerning the "Daldy" or "Talat," and claims that the Daldy are the people called by the Chinese Huang Fan and who are the Shera-Uighurs. Potanin supposes that the Shirongols probably belong to the same stock as the Shera-Uighurs who live in the Nanshan range north of Kanchou and Suchou and are called Huang Fan or "Yellow barbarians" by the Chinese. He notes that according to the *Annals* of Suchou, the names of the Princes of the "Yellow Barbarians" are Mongol names, and raises the question whether the Shirongols or Monguors may not be simply a group of these Uighurs (Yellow Uighurs) who were first Mongolized and later strongly influenced 114 173 by the Chinese culture (p. 382). Potanin notes a tradition which he himself heard several times and which was also heard by Prjevalski that the Shirongols came to the Tibetan frontier from the Ordos. In connection with the fact that they are sometimes called Daldy, or Talat, he cites from Prjevalski the fact that one of the Ordos banners is called Talat. Potanin also notes a tradition that the Shirongols were sent by Chingis Khan himself to take possession of the Tibetan frontier. On the question of the precise time of their arrival, Potanin draws attention to three migrations from the Ordos region to the Tibetan frontier. The first of these was in the fourth century A.D., when a large group of the Sienpi tribe of Eastern Mongolia passed through the Ordos and migrated as far as Northern Tibet. The second, according to the Mongol historian, Sagang Setsen, was in the thirteenth century, when Dorda and Godan, brothers of Kublai Khan, were ordered by their mother to migrate to Shera-tala (Yellow Plain) northwest of Hsining. (According to a communication from Father Mostaert, this story was not written by Sagang Setsen, but added by Schmidt, his translator.) The third migration was in the fifteenth century when a large group of Ölöt or western Mongols came to the Kukunor region from the north. He suggests that the Shirongols may be the result of the mingling of the descendants of these groups, or perhaps only of the two groups that migrated in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (p. 280).

Potanin notes a tradition according to which the Shirongols had built a large realm, the capital of which was at Lanchou (capital of the province of Kansu); after three mighty emperors had governed the realm in succession it was destroyed by Ghesar (the mythical Tibetan hero). One of these emperors was Horbende. Potanin adds that in the Mongol chronicle *Altan Tobchi* (Russian translation, p. 196) it is said that: "Sain Altan Khagan destroyed the Sharegols of Amdo who lived between Tibet and Tangut" and he supposes that the

114 Sharegols are the Shirongols, or that the Shirongols are their descendants (p. 375).

173 Potanin notes also another tradition that the founder of all the families of Monguor T'u-ssu, or chieftains, was Li, prince of Chin; according to this tradition the present T'u-ssu family of Li represents the direct line of descent, while the other T'u-ssu families are collateral descendants. Li, Prince of Chin (an ancient name for the northern part of what is now the Province of Shansi; a region frequently held by Turkish tribes during the early middle ages), was a high official at the court of one of the T'ang emperors. For misbehavior at an imperial dinner he was exiled to the region of Hsining. He brought Chinese to this region to develop agriculture, and built a city which became the capital of a powerful kingdom. According to some variants of the legend, the mythical Tibetan hero, Ghesar, destroyed the kingdom of the Shirongols, but according to other variants it was Li who was the founder of the Kingdom. The ancient grave of Li, Prince of Chin, is to be seen near Shandan (an old name for the city of Hsining). The stone slab set before the grave is reputed to have medicinal powers, for which reason people chip off pieces of the stone. Only about one-third of the stone still exists. Stones carved in the form of sheep are set out in rows before the grave (pp. 380–381).

114 177 Potanin goes on to state that there are many groups of the Shirongols, some of whom live in communities of their own while others live in mixed communities. Among the Shirongols of San Ch'uan there are families of Tibetan and Chinese origin, while on the other hand some of the Shirongols have become Tibetanized. In the succession to the chieftainship, he says, the eldest son inherits, while his brothers sink into the rank of commoners. In some groups there is no chief, the people, after accusing the chief of imposing too heavy land taxes and feudal services, having become ordinary Chinese subjects. Potanin was not able to find out how many of the original eighteen groups of Shirongols still existed in his time. According to his information, the Shirongols were allowed to sell their fields to members of the same group, if they had the permission of their chief.[4]

000 *W. W. Rockhill* writes of the Monguors:

> In western Kan-su these Tu-jen alone use cave dwellings; such dwellings are found among all these people, and also, I have heard said, among the Tibetan tribes living west of Sung-p'an-t'ing. The question suggests itself whether these tribes did not teach the Chinese to make such dwellings and furthermore whether these people, these Tu-jen, are not of the same stock as the now extinct Man-tzu cave makers of western Sze-ch'uan (pp. 72–74). Their language is as I thought about eight-tenths Mongol.

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[4] G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya (The Tangut-Tibetan frontier of China and Central Mongolia)*, 1893 (in Russian). An abridged edition was published in 1950 (Moscow, State Publishers), and is the source which I have used here. The passages cited were kindly translated for me by F. J. Spriet, pp. 374, 380–384.

[P. 25a]

100 the residue being Tibetan, Chinese and to the best of my knowledge a heretofore unknown lingo, probably the original language of the Tu-jen of this part of the Empire (p. 106).[5]

114 101 In his *Land of the Lamas* the same author asserts that the Dschiahours of the Three Valleys encountered by Huc and Gabet are White Mongols, whose early home was probably in the Ordos (p. 43). He quotes the *Huang Ch'ing Chih Kung T'u* (eighteenth century) as mentioning a number of Mongol tribes living in the southern portion of the Nienpei district in Sanch'uan. The same work mentions (**5**: 55) a tribe called Tungkou living in the same district whose chieftains bear the family name of Li and who descend from Li K'oyung, a Shat'o Turk and famous warrior of the T'ang period (p. 44). Rockhill also quotes from the dynastic history of the T'ang dynasty the tribal name Kolu, which he identifies with the Karluk Turks, northeast of the present Urumchi, in Sinkiang. These Kolu submitted to the Tibetans, and Rockhill believes that they may be the later "Tungkou," suggesting that *tung* is Chinese for "eastern," and *kou* a contraction of "Koulu," a variant of "Kolu" (p. 45).[6]

Among the more recent travelers, the region was visited by *W. Filchner* and *A. Tafel*. In 1906 Filchner published an account of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum, the value of the volume consisting chiefly in the photographic material.[7] Tafel, although he gives interesting data about the "T'u-ren," and mentions the legends of their T'uyühun, Shat'o, or Hsi Hsia origin (p. 248), mentions their submission to the Ming and notes that the Li T'u-ssu is the most outstanding among the T'u-ssu (p. 250), does not solve the problem.[8]

Comte de Lesdain, in his journey from China through the Ordos to Tibet and India, described the country as "inhabited by the old aborigines of Kansu province, who are the most authentic remainder of the primitive race from which the Chinese spring."[9]

P. K. Kozlow, who traveled in 1907–1909, wrote of the "Donger-wa" or "people of Donger," namely, the Monguors, that they might have originated as a mixed breed of Chinese and Tanguts, and that their language was closely akin to Mongol, but with an admixture of Chinese and Tangut words.[10]

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[5] W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet, 1891–1892*, 73–106, Washington, Smithsonian Instn., 1894.

[6] W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, New York, 1891.

[7] W. Filchner, *Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet*, Berlin, Mittler, 1906; also *Om mani padme hum; meine China- und Tibetexpedition 1925–28*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1929.

[8] A. Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, Stuttgart, Union deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1914.

[9] *From Pekin to Sikkim through the Ordos, the Gobi desert, and Tibet*, New York, Dutton, 1908.

[10] P. K. Kozlow, *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-choto*, 136, Berlin, Neufeld und Henius, 1925. The original Russian edition is: P. K. Kozlov, *Mongoliya i Amdo i mertvyi gorod Khara-Khoto*, Moscow-Petrograd, State Publishers, 1923, reprinted 1948.

114 101 *Reginald Farrer,* who was in the country in 1915, writes that "Here and there all over China occur these queer little outcrops of dying races from of old," and that the "Turan," or "Children of Earth," "pervade just this one small spot on the face of China, a curious race, wholly unlike the Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans and the Mohamedans, if only in the fact that they are very dark and very dense with curly black hair."[11]

Frederick Wulsin wrote of the Monguors that "Some have suggested that the T'u-run (speech) is very old Mongol and others that it is based on the Shat'o Turkish dialect. The present To-run might be descended from immigrants belonging to one or the other of these races. The information now at hand does not justify me in expressing an opinion."[12]

This last citation may be taken as an appropriate summing up of the fact that the Monguors have always been an enigma to foreign travelers.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO THE LOCAL PEOPLE

101 173 The Monguors have, however, been as much an enigma to their Chinese neighbors as they have been to foreigners. The Chinese name T'u-jen means, as has already been explained, "autochthones" or "aborigines," and under the influence of this term the popular explanation of the Chinese of the region is that the Monguors are descendants of the first inhabitants of the country who built the oldest villages and cities, occupied the most fertile valleys, dug the irrigation canals and then were conquered and subjugated by the Chinese at some very early historical period.

Another Chinese tradition, however, is that the Monguors are of Mongol stock and settled in the region where they now live, during the Mongol dynasty, between 1260 and 1368. Still another tradition is that they are Mongols who were settled as garrisons in Yunnan Province, under the Mongol dynasty, but on the fall of that dynasty were moved to Hsining and settled there at the orders of the Ming dynasty. Yet another Chinese tradition is that the Monguors are all of Shat'o Turkish stock and arrived in the Hsining region during the T'ang dynasty (618–906); but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming dynasty. While living in the region, I also heard it said by learned Chinese who had won literary honors under the Manchu Empire that the Monguors were not a homogeneous people, but included descendants of the T'ulufan of Turkistan, remnants of the medieval T'uyühun (Sienpi) tribes, and even fragments of old Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes. 173 Such Chinese were prone to say in addition that the T'u-ssu or hereditary local chiefs were not of the same origin as any of their subjects, but that they were all of Chinese extraction and did not understand the language of their subjects.

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[11] Reginald Farrer, *The rainbow bridge,* 75, London, Arnold, 1921.

[12] Frederick Wulsin, Non-Chinese inhabitants of the province of Kan-su, China. *Amer. Jour. Physical Anthropol.* **8**: 316, 1925.

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According to this tradition the founding ancestor of the Li line of T'u-ssu chiefs was not in fact of Shat'o extraction and not the son of Li K'o-yung, Prince of Chin, but a wealthy and prominent Chinese living in Hsining. At the time of the fall of the Mongol dynasty and the founding of the Ming dynasty, Tibetan tribes were making destructive forays along the Hsining frontier, and this Chinese named Li asked them to submit to the new dynasty. When they refused he went to Lanchow, asked for Chinese troops, and also called on the Monguors of the region to lend a hand in crushing the turbulent Tibetans. The marauders were defeated and fled to the Tsaidam marshes and other parts of the Tibetan plateau, the Monguors and all the other frontier people were grateful to Li for saving their lives and their wealth, and he was rewarded by the Emperor with the office of T'u-ssu and chieftainship over the Monguors.

As against this semi-literary tradition, however, both Monguors and Chinese of the valley of Shat'ang, northeast of Hsining, maintain that the Li T'u-ssu line is in fact descended from the Shat'o prince of Chin and as proof they claim that the Shat'ang valley was formerly called the Shat'o valley and that the original Li mansion was built in the village of Hsinyuänp'u, where its ruins can still be seen. They say that the founding ancestor of the Li line, at the head of his Shat'o troops, crushed insurrections led by Huang Ch'ao (875 A.D.) and saved the tottering throne of the T'ang dynasty; but that, disgusted by the intrigues of jealous Chinese ministers, he retired to Hsinyuänp'u, where in addition to the ruins of his mansion there are pointed out the ruins of another mansion, said to have been built by his "prime minister." In the same valley, near a village called Hsitsantze, the ruins of an old city are huddled at the foot of the mountains. This city is called Hsinch'eng, the "New City." Linked with this ruined city are the ruins of an old frontier "Great Wall," and both city and wall are attributed by local tradition to the founding ancestor of the Li line.

The descendants of this prince are credited by the same local tradition with having been at one time the rulers of Hsining, and it is said that the ruined Buddhist monastery of Tafu, situated near the administrative buildings of the governor of the province, in the city of Hsining, was once their ancestral temple. This tradition of the origin of the ruined temple is in fact spread all over the country.

In 1913 I received a call from the then Li T'u-ssu, who proposed to sell me the ruined monastery and the site on which it stood. When asked for his land deeds, he replied that they had been lost during some previous insurrection or time of trouble, but that the tradition of his clan, supported by the belief of all the inhabitants of the region, ought to suffice in place of legal title deeds.

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This Li T'u-ssu gave me the following account of his ancestry, as preserved by the tradition of the clan itself. During the T'ang dynasty, he said, in the realm of Hsi Liang,[13] a boy was born in the harem and cast away in the street. A butcher picked him up and gave him the name of Hsueh Ping-kuei. When the butcher died, the boy became a beggar. Then Wang Pao-ch'üan, minister of the King of Western Liang, whose daughter had reached marriageable age, made a public announcement that on the second day of the second moon he would throw a ball wrapped in red silk from the roof of his house; and that the lad who could catch it would become his son-in-law. It was the young beggar who had the good luck to catch the precious ball, but the minister refused him and sent him away. The daughter, however, smitten with love by the sight of the handsome beggar boy, fled from her father's mansion and joined him The beggar then became a soldier.

One day his father-in-law and his wife's two brothers seized him and tied him on a spirited horse. The horse bolted into the palace of the King, where the Princess T'ai-shan, astonished by his handsome appearance, married him. After eighteen years he remembered his first wife and fled and rejoined her. During all this time she had been waiting for him suffering innumerable privations and hardships. In the meantime the Princess had set out in pursuit of her beloved, accompanied by a troop of soldiers. She rested at night under a plum tree, where she gave birth to a boy. The boy was given the surname of Li ("Plum tree"). This was the boy who grew up to be Li K'o-yung, Prince of Chin, born of the Princess T'ai-shan under the plum tree, and destined to become the founder of the Li T'u-ssu line.

This legend accords exactly with the celebrated Chinese comedy "Ping-kuei hui yao," "Ping-kuei returns to the cavern." The significant thing about the legend in this form is that it portrays the founding ancestor of the Li line not as a descendant of the "barbarian" Shat'o tribe, but as the son of a princess belonging to the ephemeral Chinese kingdom of Hsi Liang. It probably reflects an attempt on the part of the nobility of the Monguors to deny their "barbarous" origin. The capital of Hsi Liang was at Tunhuang, in the zone of deserts and oases between the regions now administratively known as Kansu and Sinkiang, and stands at the point where a valley coming down from the northern rim of the Tibetan plateau opens into the low-lying deserts. The legend does violence to history, because the kingdom of Hsi Liang lasted from A.D. 400 to 421, and the T'ang dynasty was founded only in A.D. 620. The founder of the T'ang dynasty, Li Yuan, was a descendant in the seventh generation of the last king of Hsi Liang, and the legend, by bridging the gap, attempts to connect the founding ancestor of the Li line both with the founder of the T'ang dynasty and with his remote ancestor in the oasis kingdom of Tun-huang.

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[13] See chap. 1, p. 19.

It should be pointed out that there is a whole complex of traditions and legends in the Hsining region referring to the famous Li, Prince of Chin. According to one of them, he used to send his cavalry horses into the valley of Sha-t'ang for summer pasture, in the care of the tribes living in that valley, and it was in this way that the Shat'o came to settle in the region.[14]

Concerning the very important Lu T'u-ssu line there are comparable legends and traditions, and in this case it is true that the T'u-ssu or chiefs do not speak the language of their subjects. According to some, the founding ancestor of this line was of Chinese extraction, having been sent in former times by the emperor of China to govern the "barbarian" people of the frontier. Others say that both this tribe and its clan of chiefs were Mongols who had been part of the garrison of Yunnan Province under the Mongol dynasty and were then moved by the Chinese, under the Ming dynasty, to the Province of Kansu to garrison the Tibetan frontier. According to still another version, the Lu clan is assigned an even more ancient origin; the story is that the chief of this tribe was responsible for capturing the terrible usurper Wang Mang, who was responsible for the interregnum between the first Han dynasty, ending in A.D. 9, and the second Han dynasty, beginning in A.D. 23. The privileges of the Lu clan chiefs are said to date from this time. To this day two human hands, shrunken, dry, and blackened, reputed to be the hands of Wang Mang, are preserved in the temple of the protecting deity of the Lu clan. I have myself seen them more than once, tied on a stick and covered with a "scarf of felicity" (*khatag*).

According to yet another legend, however, the founding ancestor of the Lu clan was a kinsman of Chingis Khan, and the whole group was originally assigned to this region by Chingis Khan himself.

Concerning the Ch'i line of T'u-ssu, it is said that the founding ancestor of this line was sent by a Mongol emperor to drive away the Tibetans, and that his first mansion was built as Hsiaoch'aoyang, where the ruins can still be seen. Later he built a new fortress north of Weiyuanp'u in Pei-nai, and a monastery in Tung-ying. The old graveyard of this clan is in T'angpa.

An old Monguor, the Lama Li Ming, superintendent of the establishment of the Living Buddha T'ukuan of the monastery of Erhkulung, gave me the following tradition which is probably colored by lamaistic teaching: the Monguors, he said, are all of Uighur origin.[14a] In former times they lived near the monastery of Mat'i, in Yungch'ang, a sub-prefecture of Liangchou. A small group of Uighurs still lives at this place. There were

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[14] This tradition seems to be related to the fact that during the Yung-lo period (1403–1425), horses of the Chinese government were raised in the pastures of Shat'ang valley (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 4: 15*b*).

[14a] See also Matthias Hermanns, S.V.D., *Uiguren und ihre neuentdeckten Nachkommen*, *Anthropos*, Vienna, **35-36** (1-3): 78 sqq., 1940–1941.

173 originally three brothers: Hor, also known as Kerker; Kerrur, and Kersur. The eldest took his subjects and went into Mongolia, where they became Mongols; the second and his followers went to Tibet and became Tibetans; the third and his subjects went to Hsining, where they became the Monguors.

Another story has it that in former times the country was always troubled by forays both from Mongolia and from Tibet, and that the Chinese commanders who succeeded in defeating and conquering some of the frontier tribes were appointed by the Chinese emperor to be the chiefs of these tribes, so that all of the chiefs of the Monguors are to be regarded as of Chinese origin.

According to still another story, an emperor of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589–620), having defeated the T'uyühun (Sienpi) near Hsining, drove most of them into Tibet; but several tribes submitted to this emperor and were assigned a territory by him in which they settled down and became the Monguors of today.

The overall conclusion seems to be that as far as tradition and legend are concerned, the problem of the origin of the Monguors is about as confused as it can be, and remains an enigma not only for Westerners but for the Chinese and for the Monguors themselves. Verbal tradition certainly provides no conclusive answer. A new trail can be blazed only by turning to the literary documents.

It was after more than three years of residence in the country that I had the good luck to obtain the 1747 edition of the *Annals* or chronicles of the prefecture of Hsining. The first edition, printed in 1595, was not available to me. I also secured the *Annals* of the province of Kansu, printed in 1909, and still later I had the very great good fortune to come into possession of a copy of the family chronicles of the clan of the Lu T'usu, edited and printed from wood blocks in 1600 and then continued in manuscript in 1897. These materials enabled me to set out on a new attempt to clarify the origin and early history of the Monguors.

THE NAME OF THE MONGUORS

101 The name T'u-jen is not only used by the people of Hsining when speaking of the Monguors but is also encountered in the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province. According to the Chinese dictionaries, T'u-jen means "Native"; it can mean either the people pertaining by birth to a certain place, or the original inhabitants of a country. In Chinese books the word T'u-jen is never used to indicate Chinese inhabiting any place in China. The word has in general usage a derogatory meaning similar to that of the English word "native," and is used for "barbarians," non-civilized peoples subjected to the civilized Chinese, such as the Miao-tze, Lolo, and other tribes.

T'u-jen, however, has a specific meaning for the Chinese of Hsining, who use it only for the Monguors and Shat'o, perhaps because the Monguors and Shat'o speak

[P. 28a]

101 the same language, have the same customs, dress in the same way, live in the same country, have the same T'u-ssu organization and so generally are considered to be of the same stock.

The Chinese when speaking of Hsifan (Tibetans), or of other Mongols living in the country or in Kukunor, never use the term T'u-jen, but always the terms Hsifan, etc. The question, therefore, is whether the Chinese, in calling the Shat'o and the Monguors T'u-jen, mean a people belonging by birth to the country but whose ancestors migrated from other countries to Hsining, or the original inhabitants of the country. Because the term has this double meaning, it is certainly used in both meanings.

Huc and Gabet call the Monguors Dschiahour, interpreted as "sinised Mongols." This is the term used by the Tibetans of the country. Prjevalski and Father de Smedt heard Tibetans calling them K'arlong. Potanin calls them Shirongols. Father Mostaert heard Mongols in Mongolia referring to them as Dolot; Prjevalski calls them Daldy (the same word), and the Monguors call themselves Monguor. Potanin states that they are also called White Mongols, and Chzhahor. According to Father A. Mostaert the name Monguor is merely a variant of the name Mongol. In the Monguor language, words which in other Mongol dialects end with an *l*, end with an *r*. The written sources and the tradition, however, clearly establish the fact that not all of the Monguors are of Mongol origin. There are no data, however, to explain the process by which the Shat'o group lost its original Turkish language and adopted that of the Monguors. There is an ample historical record to demonstrate that the name T'u-jen, by which the Chinese call the Monguors, is incorrect since in ancient and medieval times the region now inhabited by the Monguors was intermittently and alternatingly occupied by various tribes. The explanation of the Chinese term is, however, sufficiently obvious. The Chinese military colonists transplanted to the region at the opening of the Ming dynasty must have assumed that the Monguor "natives" whom they found there were "aborigines" who had always been there.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE MONGUORS

197 The language of the Monguors has been studied by the Fathers A. Mostaert and A. de Smedt.[15] Father A. Mostaert writes me:

> The language spoken by the Monguors is a Mongol dialect, with peculiar archaic characteristics concerning both the phonetics and the vocabulary.

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[15] A. De Smedt et A. Mostaert. *Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kan-su occidental. Ire partie: Phonétique. Anthropos.* Vienna. Leo-Gesellschaft **24**: 145–164 et 801–815; **25**: 657–665 et 961–973; **26**: 253. *IIme partie. Grammaire.* Monumenta Serica Monograph **6**. Peking. Catholic Univ., 1945. *IIIme partie: Dictionnaire Monguor-Français.* Publication de l'Université Catholique de Pekin, Peiping, 1933. A. Mostaert. The Mongols of Kansu and their language. *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking* **8**. 1931.

[P. 28-b]

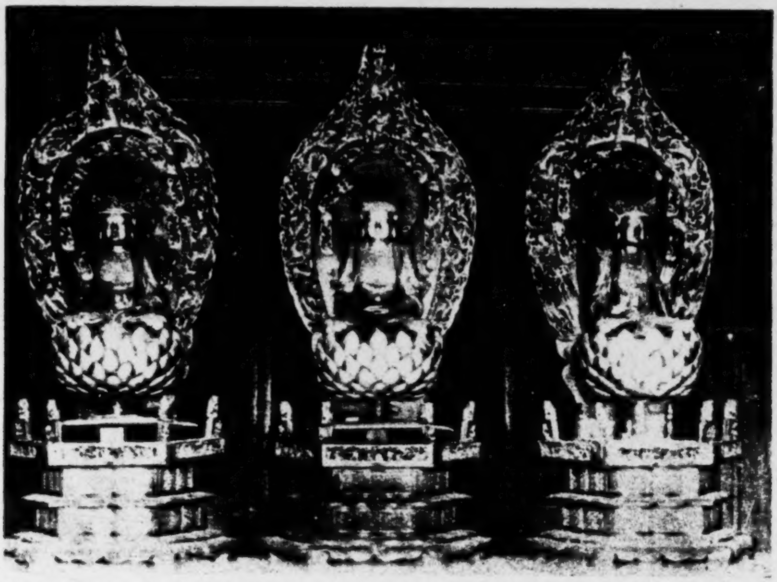

FIG. 1. The three celebrated Buddha images, said to have been brought to Hsining by the first Chinese military colonists under the Ming, from their native province of Kiangsu in 1370. They are worshipped in the Ch'eng Huang Miao (temple of the guardian spirit of the city). On the fifteenth of the first moon all the inhabitants of Hsining never omit to pay them a visit, prostrating themselves and burning incense. In the summer of every year a theatrical comedy is played in honor of these images brought from the ancestral homeland.

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197 The Monguor morphology also differs from that of the Mongol dialects.

The Monguor dialect borrowed a large number of words both from the Tibetan and mostly from the Chinese languages; the words borrowed from Turkish are less numerous.

These facts secure to the Monguor dialect a peculiar aspect. and make it so extremely different from other Mongol dialects, that Monguors are unable to converse either with eastern or with western Mongols, and in order to speak with them they have to use another language.

HISTORICAL SOLUTION OF THE ENIGMA

175 The grouping of Mongol and Shat'o tribes which resulted in the formation of the Monguor people was effected in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century. In 1226 Subudei, one of Chingis Khan's greatest commanders, invaded Hsining on his way to Lan-chou.[16] In 1275, according to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 7*a*), a Mongol army was sent to fight the turbulent T'ufan (Tibetans) whose nomad pastures

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[16] H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, 290, 291, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950. This work contains a valuable discussion of this campaign.

were in the Kukunor region. This expedition was based on Hsining. During this half-century of war, most of the population of the Hsining country, which had consisted of small Tibetan tribes, had fled and the country was laid open for the Mongols. Only in 1287, however, was Chang-chi, a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, appointed as governor of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. *7b*) and an embryonic organization started; but during the whole period of the Mongol dynasty no census is recorded. The scanty records include only such events as a movement of troops in 1302 and a famine in 1324.

During the whole Mongol period we find no references in the *Annals* concerning the presence of the Monguors in Hsining; the first historical data available are encountered during the Ming (1368–1643) and they prove that the Monguor groups were already living in Hsining during the Mongol period, under the ancestors of their later T'u-ssu.

Both the *Annals* of Kansu (ch. 42, *passim*) and the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, *passim*) record that the Monguors were already settled in the Hsining region when the Ming dynasty was founded in 1368. Both

Annals also record the tradition that the Li group is of Shat'o extraction. The version of these *Annals* is confirmed in (or perhaps drawn from) the *History of the Five Dynasties* (Wu tai shih chi, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*; Ponapen edition), where it is recorded that the Shat'o lived in the mountainous country between Kanchou and Hsining (where the Li group still lives) in A.D. 939; and these Shat'o are described as belonging to the Chuhsieh tribe, from which came the famous Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin. The living tradition, the documentary records of the *Annals*, and the general history of China support each other. The Chuhsieh tribe fled to China in A.D. 808, in order to be protected by the T'ang emperors. They were settled in the country of Lingwu, Ninghsia, and received the surname of Li from the emperor. The other Monguor groups, according to the *Annals* of Kansu (ch. 42, p. 43), are of Mongol origin, except for one small group of seventy families belonging to the Yeh T'u-ssu who are of Ch'ant'ou[17] origin and who submitted to the Ming at the same time as the Monguors. All the Monguors are described as having been posted along these frontiers by the Ming and their chiefs as having received the title and function of T'u-ssu during the very first years of the dynasty.

According to the *Annals*, all the chiefs of the Monguor and Shat'o clans belong to their own clan and are of the same extraction, except the Ch'eng T'u-ssu who is Chinese by origin, the "founding ancestor" of his house having been born in Chiangnan province. Taking after his father, he fought the Mongols and was rewarded with the hereditary office of Chihhuishih and the administration of 120 Mongol families, who became his subjects (*Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 36).

It was at the time of the submission of the Monguor clans that the Ming Dynasty started the establishment of new Chinese colonies which, together with the Monguors, were supposed to defend the country.

The first census in the *Annals* of Hsining concerning these colonies is recorded at the opening of the Ming Dynasty (ch. 16, p. 15*a*). It lists 7,200 Chinese families totalling only 15,854 persons, described as "officials and soldiers." The indicated average of less than three persons per family strengthens the probablity that there were as yet no agricultural colonists. We know from earlier records that during the Han and Sui dynasties Chinese colonies had been established. It is probable, from what we know of the general character of Chinese history, that when colonies disappeared and the country was reoccupied by nomads, some of the Chinese were killed, some fled back to areas with a more numerous agricultural population and strong walled cities, and some were absorbed by the nomads and became barbarians. Thus when the first military Ming garrisons

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[17] Ch'ant'ou, "Turbaned Heads," is the vulgar Chinese term for the Turkish-speaking agricultural and town-dwelling people of Sinkiang, for whom in recent years the medieval tribal name of Uighur has, with partial historical justification, been revived. —O. L.

175 were established, it is probable that there were no villages in the country and no "natives" whom the newcomers called "aborigines," except the Monguor groups and a very few small Tibetan groups.

Among the Chinese inhabitants of Hsining, after so many centuries, the tradition is still fresh and living that their ancestors were poor farmers of the province of Chiangsu (Kiangsu) who had been picked up at random in their home villages and sent as conscripts to garrison the Hsining frontier. The tradition is specific that they left their homes unwillingly. Every year in April at Ch'ing Ming, the spring festival when ancestors are venerated, the Chinese of Hsining first burn paper and incense and prostrate themselves in the direction of their ancient homeland before they honor their more recent ancestors. On the last day of the year they again burn paper and prostrate themselves before midnight on the main street, in the direction of Nanking on the lower Yangtze, honoring their remote ancestors who perhaps have no worshippers in their original homeland. At betrothals a packet of fine tea leaves is always offered and this is described as a custom brought from the ancestral province and loyally preserved. In the temple of the guardian deity of the city of Hsining (Ch'eng-huang Miao) a large room is reserved for three small statues of Buddha which are said to have been brought by the first Ming Chinese on their way to exile, and on the fifteenth of the first moon nobody fails to honor them. Every year a festival is organized and traditional theatricals are presented in their honor. In 1917 the statues were gilded anew and the small temple received a new coat of paint. History and tradition seem to tally, therefore, in recognizing these military colonists as the pioneers of the present Chinese population of the Hsining region.

The Chinese of Hsining always stress the fact that their ancestors were forced to leave their native province and had been exiled to the country of the barbarians. The stealing of a single melon from the fields was a crime great enough to cause exile of the whole family. Of old the Chinese people were reluctant to go to the military colonies, and prisoners from all over China had to be sent.

A living picture of the sending of colonists to Hsining by Wang-Mang, the usurper of the throne of the Han emperors in A.D. 7, is related in Chinese history.

> Wang Mang sent an emissary to Kukunor (and) induced a Ch'iang chieftain to come to court and present his grasslands to China, offering, in speech flattering to Wang Mang, to remove his people to less fertile lands and guard the frontiers. . . . When Kukunor had been accepted, Chinese settlers found it unattractive and would not move there. Wang Mang solved that problem quickly; 50 laws were added to the code, and violators were exiled to Kukunor. Thousands and tens of thousands of people were transported to this inhospitable terrain. Wang Mang would not allow the welfare of the people to interfere with his glory. The Ch'iang had not expected such mass immigration and attacked the settlers. Wang Mang had to

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175 put the rebels down by military force. He increased the harshness of the laws and exiled thousands of peasants to the barren region in order to glorify himself.[18]

This was the historical frame when the Monguor clans settled in the region of Hsining during the Yuan dynasty and when they submitted to the Ming dynasty as defenders of the marches in conjunction with the military colonists, their chiefs becoming Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu, in a country open to the forays and inroads of hostile tribes. In these conditions the Ming proposed to colonize the country.

SETTLEMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF MONGUOR CLANS IN KANSU

618 I use the term "clan" here to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have nevertheless adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen during the time that they were integrated into the group.

The current saying in the prefecture of Hsining and the sub-prefecture of Nienpei is that there are sixteen clans of Monguors. According to the *Annals* of Kansu, there are six clans in the prefecture of Hsining, and ten in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei.

618 175 162 1. The Ch'i clan, whose chief is recorded as being a true descendant of the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty.[19] Under this dynasty the Chief of the Ch'i clan was always an important official in Kansu, and on the fall of the dynasty the Ch'i T'u-ssu was the first of all the T'u-ssu to submit to the Ming dynasty in 1368, the year of its establishment.

At that time the Ch'i clan numbered eight hundred families of Monguor stock, divided into four sub-clans. In 1644, on the fall of the Ming dynasty, this clan submitted to the Manchu dynasty. It then numbered only seven hundred families, divided into eight sub-clans (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 35*a*–*b*, 36*a*). The territory assigned to them was situated thirty-five miles south of Hsining and they lived in numerous villages.

2. The Ch'eng clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is the only one of Chinese extraction, the founding ancestor having been born in Shanyang in the province of Chiangnan.[20] His father, who had been an official under the Mongol dynasty, joined the Chinese popular rising against the Mongols. The son, who followed in his father's footsteps, was rewarded with the title and office of T'u-ssu in 1374 and received 120 Monguor families as his subjects. The territory assigned to his clan is

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[18] Homer H. Dubs. Wang Mang and his economic reforms. *T'oung-pao* 35: 230-231, Leiden. E. J. Brill. 1940.

[19] Ch'i is the Chinese clan name (*hsing*) adopted by the descendants of the Kiyut, a sept of the Borjigit, the clan of Chingis Khan.—O. L.

[20] Now the two provinces of Anhui and Kiangsu.—O. L.

618 seventeen miles north of Hsining and includes seven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 26*b*, 37*a–b*).

175 3. The Li clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor, a prominent official in 162 Hsining under the Mongol dynasty, submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. As a faithful official of the Ming dynasty, he was granted the title of Earl of Kaoyang (Kaoyang Po), the third rank of nobility, for military services rendered to the empire. One of his successors, the T'u-ssu Li Shih-hsien, died in 1427 fighting against Mongol invaders. In 1643 the T'u-ssu Li Hung-hsien, his wife, and 120 men of his family were killed when they refused to surrender to the Chinese peasant rebels whose insurrection opened the way to the Manchu conquest of China.

This clan numbered 963 families originally, living in forty-eight villages, ten miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 38*b*, 39*a–b*).

4. The Na clan. The Na T'u-ssu is said to be of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming in 1371. The clan numbered only 150 families of Shat'o (Monguors), living in 8 villages three miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 39*b*, 40*a*).

5. The Wang clan. The Wang T'u-ssu, of Monguor stock, submitted to the Ming in 1371. This clan numbered 130 families of Monguor extraction and 18 Tibetan families, living ten miles west of Hsining scattered in eleven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 40*b*, 41*a–b*).

6. The Chi clan. Said to be of Shat'o extraction. The founding ancestor submitted in 1371. The clan included 90 families, living twenty miles west of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 42). About 1875 the T'u-ssu was impeached by his subjects. The Chinese authorities erased his name from the list of T'u-ssu, and the clan passed under direct Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not record this fact.

In the sub-prefecture of Nienpei live ten clans:

1. The Ch'i clan. This clan is not the same as the clan of the same name in Hsining. Its chief is not a descendant of the Mongol imperial family of the Yuän, but is of Monguor stock. His ancestors were among the most influential frontier officials during the Mongol dynasty. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. This clan numbered 700 families of Monguor extraction. The chief lives one mile and a half north of the city of Nienpei. His subjects are scattered in many villages at varying distances from Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 44*b*, 45, 46).

2. The Li Nan-ko clan, of Shat'o stock. In the *Annals* the T'u-ssu is said to be a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son founded the dynasty of the Hou T'ang. His son in turn, Li Wen, is recorded as the T'u-ssu of Hsining. This clan numbered 4,000 families of Shat'o stock, living in eight villages or valleys forty miles southeast of Nienpei. Huc

[P. 31b]

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162

and Gabet, Potanin, and Rockhill visited Sanch'uan where the mansion of the chief of the clan is located. The son of Li Nan-ko, Li Ying, was granted the title of Earl of Huining (Huining Po), the third rank of nobility, as a reward for military services (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 47, 48). This and the following clan are independent of each other. Each has its own T'u-ssu, and both were recognized under the Manchu dynasty as separate units.

3. The Li Hua-nao clan, also of Shat'o extraction, comprising only 100 families in 1655. The T'u-ssu lives in the city of Nienpei, and his subjects are scattered in villages to the south (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 53). The founding ancestor of this line was made a T'u-ssu only in 1655, in the early years of the Manchu dynasty, and was an offshoot of the line of Li Nan-ko. For some reason not noted in the *Annals* he received from his father or his brother 100 out of the 4,000 families of the original clan and was made a T'u-ssu.

4. The Chao T'u-ssu clan, which submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1370. This clan is of Monguor extraction. Under the Mongol dynasty it moved to Nienpei, after having lived in Mingchou, and was settled fifteen miles north of the city. The clan numbered 120 families, scattered along the valley (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48–49). At an unknown date and for an unknown reason the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of the T'u-ssu and his subjects passed under ordinary Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not mention the fact.

5. The Ah clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 150 families, and lives seventeen miles east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 49–50).

6. The Kan clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 300 families. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. The clan is settled 75 miles southeast of Nienpei in the valley of Mo Tou (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*–52).

7. The Chou clan, of Monguor stock, numbered only 62 families. It adjoins the Kan clan, living seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*, 52).

8. The Yeh clan, a small clan of 70 Muslim families of Turkish stock originating from Sinkiang. The Chinese called them Ch'ant'ou or Turbaned Heads. (See above, p. 34.) They settled in the country under the Mongol dynasty. As a military commander the founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371, together with the other T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu of this line were eager defenders of the Ming frontier: two of them died in battle, one in 1570, one in 1638. They were settled in the Mila valley forty miles southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 52, 53). About 1890 the name of the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of T'u-ssu and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects. The fact is not mentioned in the *Annals*.

[P. 32a]

618 9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100
families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles south-
175 east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to
the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42,
162 p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from
the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled ~~seventy-five miles~~ southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals*
of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24.
177 They were all living in the country under the Mongol
dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Mon-
guors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addi-
tion, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu,
[101] of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-
five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This
large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese
call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
624 of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than
seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial
family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-
ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He
alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and
possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title,
without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war
they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu;
and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land
taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines
of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
175 prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp.
55-57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

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[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

624 175 to the Ming dynasty in 1371 as "founding ancestor" of the present line, and received the most extensive territory of all the Monguor T'u-ssu. The group numbered, according to the *Annals* of 1909, 3,245 families totalling 21,086 persons, and was divided administratively into ten banners. After the historic revolt of the Kukunor Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas, in 1723, the T'u-ssu was rewarded for his military services with the territory and inhabitants of thirteen Tibetan villages, which had belonged to a Mongol chief of Kukunor. These thirteen villages numbered 453 families, totalling 2,365 persons, at a rate of 5.2 persons per family (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87). This group is the most outstanding among the Monguor people. Many members of these T'u-ssu families were prominent military commanders and civil officials. They wielded the largest influence in the country among the Chinese officials, and were favorably regarded by the emperors of both the Ming and Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasties.

MONGUOR POPULATION FIGURES

161 The Manguor population data at the time of the Ming, taken from the *Annals* of Kansu, printed in 1909, may be summarized as follows:

Total of families ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu: 11,000
Families of Monguors belonging to 9 Mongol T'u-ssu, 5,627
Families of Shat'o Monguors belonging to the 5 Shat'o T'u-ssu, 5,303
Families of Ch'ant'ou extraction belonging to one Ch'ant'ou T'u-ssu, 70

The number of families belonging to the Monguor La T'u-ssu is not recorded. Taking a rate of five members per family, which seems not to be too high, the number of Monguors living in Old Huang Chung would be 55,000. Adding the 471 Tibetan families ruled by the Lu T'u-ssu and Wang T'u-ssu gives a total of 57,365 ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu.

162 Striking differences in importance and strength among the clans are to be noted: the Lu clan alone ruled 3,699 families (3,246 Monguor, 453 Tibetan), and the three Shat'o Li T'u-ssu ruled 4,963 families. Then there is a sharp drop to the two Ch'i clans with 700 families each, and the remaining clans are insignificant.

It has already been noted that in each of the Monguor clans there are a few Chinese and Tibetan families, which were enrolled at different times.

EXPANSION OF THE MONGUORS OVER THE COUNTRY

175 According to the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55, and the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 14*b*, the population of Hsining was very thin at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The fields around the towns, irrigated by canals, were assigned to the Chinese military colonists.

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and grasslands in the extensive side valleys were assigned to each of the T'u-ssu groups for the pasturing of their herds and for the cultivation of cereals, without irrigation. The Monguors, in other words, were relegated to the side valleys after having been forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields. The account may be interpreted both as meaning that the Monguors had already begun to practice farming, and as meaning that they were able to fall back on a pastoral economy which they had not wholly abandoned.

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it may be assumed that each T'u-ssu lived with his subjects grouped around him in the country assigned to him, since the T'u-ssu were the appointed defenders of the frontiers, the guardians of the mountain passes and of the traditional ways followed by invading nomads. Later it is said that renewed forays of Tibetans and the Mongols of Kukunor had the effect of dispersing the Monguors. Certainly the plain fact is that at present a great many of the subjects of nearly every T'u-ssu live in territories which do not belong to the T'u-ssu to whom they are subject. In order to understand the scattering of the Monguors, however, exclusive emphasis should not be put on the factor of frontier inroads and revolts. The economic factor was also important, especially the development of agriculture and the opening to cultivation of extensive valleys, notably between 1644 and 1723, when there was relatively little frontier warfare. Indeed, after frontier disturbances a population that has fled usually comes back to its original homeland, but when the people disperse and spread in order to engage in new, profitable occupations, they settle and do not return.

There is evidence for the importance of population shifts in association with economic change in the fact that according to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, pp. 5*a*–*b*) 81,707 "pieces" of land in the prefecture of Hsining were opened to cultivation for the first time during the first hundred years of the Ch'ing dynasty. In addition, 6,243 "pieces" of new land were opened in the subprefecture of Nienpei (ch. 16, p. 9*b*) and 10,499 in the Shuo, the newly organized administrative unit of Kueite (ch. 16, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*). All of this land is referred to as grassland, meaning land opened to cultivation but not irrigated by means of canals. These figures are convincing evidence of the importance of the spread of agriculture in bringing about the dispersal of the Monguors.

The establishment of the new sub-prefecture of Tat'ung, dependent on Hsining, was also a phase of this great economic transformation. After the general revolt of the Mongols of Kukunor, the frontier Tibetans, and the lamas of the whole region had been crushed in 1723–24, the military district (*wei*) of Tat'ung, forty miles north of Hsining, was reorganized as a sub-prefecture in 1761. Chinese and Muslims, in addition to Monguors, joined in the land-rush to cultivate these

[P 33b]

175 grasslands, because attractive terms had been offered for payment for the land after three years, with loans for seed and the use of oxen.[22] The population of Tat'ung climbed from 5,862 inhabitants in 1723–35 to 11,830 between 1736–96 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 16*a–b*) and a number of new villages were established.

Among these villages four were entirely inhabited by Monguors; three were equally divided between Monguors and Chinese, and in two the Monguors numbered 30 per cent of the population (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 12, pp. 15*a–b*). After 1796 another four villages were built for Monguors by the Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erhkulung. All the Monguors who migrated to Tat'ung in this period were subjects of the sixteen T'u-ssu settled in the region of Hsining.

Contemporary with the expansion of agriculture into the Tat'ung sub-prefecture was the opening of the splendid large plain of Weiyuanp'u, northeast of Hsining. Here again there was a land-rush, including the subjects of various T'u-ssu, who settled in scattered groups all over the plain.

The agricultural development of the region of Kueite, after the Manchus crushingly defeated the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau in 1723, is to be explained in the same way. In 1644 the population of the Kueite region numbered 2,060; in 1746, it numbered 11,560. A previous attempt had been made in 1380, early in the Ming dynasty, to use Mongols from around Hochou to colonize this region. I have often met, in Hsining, Monguors from Kueite, visiting their relatives in their old country. They told me that more than 300 Monguor families of Hsining origin were living around Kueite, scattered among Tibetans and Chinese. Their tradition was that their ancestors had left Hsining in order to make a better living.

HISTORICAL FRAME IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVED

In order to gain a clearer insight into the economy of the Monguors, including the shift from the pastoral to the agricultural; the expansion of many small Monguor groups from their original assigned territories and chiefs, and the building of new villages in other places; the many changes in the social organization of the clans and in the relations between chiefs and subjects; and, finally, changes in the means of living and the influence of Lamaism among the Monguors, it is advantageous to know the historical frame in which the Monguors lived under the Ming dynasty and during the first decades of the Ch'ing dynasty. The historical data will explain the failure of the Ming policy of colonizing the country by means of the Monguor clans and of Chinese military colonies. The failure of colonization is plainly evidenced by the census of 1573–1620, which records only 440 families of Chinese civilians in addition to the 2,560 families of officials and military colonists. These figures show that after two centuries there was only a tiny Chinese population while the military colony or garrison had decreased by two-thirds. This decline was due to inroads by Mongols and rebellions of Tibetans.[23]

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[22] *Tung Hua Lu* ("records" of the Manchu dynasty), Yung Cheng period (1723–1735), ch. 4, p. 39.

[P. 34a]

After the downfall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 the power of the descendants of Chingis Khan as rulers of all the Mongols had been overthrown by the Oirats or Western Mongols. Under Dayan Khan (1479–1523) the Eastern Mongols recovered under a descendant of Chingis for a brief period. In 1457 the Mongols had occupied the Ordos under the leadership of Aruktai; in 1509, dissatisfied with Dayan Khan, the tribe of (the chief) Ipula in conjunction with the tribes of Aerht'ussu after having killed the son of Dayan, fled to Kukunor, where they arrived in 1509 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 13, pp. 13–14).[24] They subjugated the Hsi-fan tribes who had been occupying this territory and making inroads in the Hsining region for thirty-four years. Other Mongols who were dissatisfied with the power of Dayan and his successors joined the following of Ipula (Ibiri), hoping to find freedom and independence in far-away Kukunor. Chinese armies were sent to Hsining when the local military colonists and the Monguors could no longer cope with the situation, but the Kukunor Mongols, nevertheless, expanded their territory from Kukunor to Alashan (Pokotilov, p. 102).

In 1554 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 13, p. 15*b*), Altan, the grandson of Dayan, came from the Ordos to Kukunor and the murderers of his uncle fled. In 1575 Altan welcomed the grand lama of Lhasa in Kukunor, gave him the title of Dalai Lama, built a temple, and proclaimed the religion of the Yellow sect as the religion of his subjects, but his son continued the inroads against Hsining and South Kansu and Szechuan. In 1635 the

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[23] In this period there was close contact between Tibet and the strong Mongol power created in the Ordos-Suiyuan region by Altan Khan of the Tumets, while south of the Tibet-Ordos line of contact, the Chinese agricultural country was ravaged by the Chinese rebel Li Ch'uang-wang, a native of Yenan in Shensi, who eventually sacked Peking in 1643, causing the last Ming emperor to commit suicide. Thus the Ming Empire was cut off from, and practically powerless in, the northwestern Kansu-Hsining hinterland.—O. L.

[24] See also D. Pokotilov, *History of the eastern Mongols during the Ming dynasty from 1368 to 1634*. Part I, trans. by Rudolph Lowenthal, *Studia Serica monographs, series* A, No. 1, Chengtu, Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute, 1947. See also the brief summary of the chaotic wars among the Mongols in this period in Chapter 2, "The period of feudal wars in Mongolia," in N. N. Poppe, *Khalkha-Mongol'skii geroicheskii epos* (*The Khalkha Mongol heroic epos*), Moscow-Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1937. From these sources the Chinese transcriptions Ipula and Aert'ussu may be identified with the Mongol originals Ibiri (name of a Khan) and Ordos, a tribal federation, while "Aloch'u" appears to be a rendering of part of the name of Mandulai Agulkhu, an ally of Ibiri. See also I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, 191, St. Petersburg, 1829.—O. L.

175 Ölöts under their chief Gushi Khan drove out the Mongols of Kukunor and established themselves in the region, and now a period of ruin and destruction began. The *Annals* (ch. 13, pp. 13–21) from 1543 to 1642 (i.e., until the eve of the establishment of the Ch'ing dynasty), list eleven forays of Mongols coming from the Ordos, besides intermittent revolts of Tibetan tribes in the region of Hsining, or on its fringes.

Gushi, hoping to stay on good terms with the new Manchu dynasty, kept quiet in Kukunor, and there were no more forays of Mongols or Tibetans until 1723; but in 1642 the city of Hsining was besieged and taken by the followers of the Chinese rebel, Li Tze-ch'eng (Li Ch'uang-wang), and in 1648 the region of Tat'ung was disturbed by a Muslim revolt which started in the Kanchou oasis.

These facts explain the decrease of the population of the country. At the dawn of the Manchu dynasty the first census records only 13,686 persons, 2,200 fewer Chinese inhabitants than when the Ming occupied Hsining and began military colonization.

Under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty, however, the unfortunate region of Hsining revived and began to flourish. In the *Annals* (ch. 13, p. 15), it is noted that by the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–1796) the population had jumped to the figure of 70,470. While the strong armies of the Ch'ing assured peace in the country, and agriculture developed because outlets were provided for its products and commerce, another factor must also be taken into account. Hsining was the most important gateway into Tibet. Its prosperity depended on trade with Tibet, without which Hsining was doomed to be a dead city. Gushi Khan, chief of the Ölöts, was the protector of Tibet and the defender of the Dalai Lama. His armies and officials were always traveling between Kukunor and Lhasa and assured the security of the roads. We must remember also that during the long period of troubles in Hsining, the roads between Lhasa and Kukunor, Lhasa and Turkestan, and Lhasa and India had always remained open. Mongol princes and tribesmen made pilgrimages to Lhasa, the capital of Lamaism, the sons of Mongol princes went to Lhasa for study, and lamas and living Buddhas traveled through the Hsining and Kukunor region to Mongolia and China, from the time of the conversion of Altan Khan, and the merchants of India and Turkestan continued their business. During the period of Gushi Khan these relations with Lhasa became even closer; and Lhasa became, and thereafter remained, the religious center of the Mongol world. Its influence was already so strong that forty-four princes could convene with three Hutukhtus to draw up the so-called Mongol-Oirat code of 1640 and plan the persecution of Shamanism among the Mongols.[25]

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[25] V. A. Riasanovsky, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buryats, Kalmuks)*, 73, Harbin, Artistic Printing House, 1929; also the same, *Fundamental principles of Mongol*

It is not surprising that when peace was restored in Hsining the commerce with Tibet and India, which had never been completely cut off, was increasingly funnelled through Hsining toward China, bringing about a great revival of prosperity in Hsining. Interesting contemporary evidence of this prosperity is to be found in the account given by two Jesuit Fathers, Grueber and Dorville, who passed through Hsining in 1661 on the way from Peking to Lhasa.[26] They describe the town as "large and populous, and from its situation near the Great Wall of special significance, it being the first gate where the Indian traders have to wait for permission to enter the Middle Kingdom." A little later Ysbrandt Ides, of Dutch origin, an agent of the Russian Tsar, traveling from Moscow to Peking and via Hsining and Tibet to India, wrote about Hsining in 1692:

> This province borders on the upper principality of Tibet, which extends to the territories of the great Mogul, from whose dominions great number of merchants come to the vast trading city of Zunning (Hsining) in the kingdom of Xiensi (Shensi), and the door of commerce being for some time opened here and liberty granted to them as well as Muscovites and Tartars to trade here, they have with their wares and trade introduced the Mohammedan religion.

He adds that the people of Gambay (Gujarat), Bengal "and other subordinate countries" are those who chiefly resort to Zunning, bringing there diamonds, jewels, elephants' teeth, wax, etc.[27]

Ysbrandts Ides' reference to Mohammedans is corroborated by a text of the *Huang Ch'ing Chih kung t'u*, part V, p. 49, "in the beginning of the Ming, Ch'an T'ou [Turks] came from Turkistan [Hsi Yü] to trade; they settled at a place 40 *li* from Hsining and married there." The reference is probably to the place called Topa, of which Father Regis speaks in the following quotation, and where there is still a strong settlement of Mohammedans. This place was the headquarters of the Mohammedan rebels who besieged Hsining in the Mohammedan rebellion of 1868–1872. The ruins of its double walls reveal that it must once have been an important place. The only word still readable on a stele preserved there is the Chinese character "T'ang," which must refer to the claim that the place was founded during the T'ang dynasty (618–906). It is well known that from the early middle ages, the Turks, especially the Uighurs, were the traders who with their caravans traveled to Russia, Asia Minor, Mongolia, Manchuria, and China,

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law, 92 *sqq.*, Tientsin, Telberg, 1937. (N. N. Poppe, however, in his work on the Khalkha Mongol heroic epos already cited, quite rightly notes (p. 36) that while the first part of this Code constituted a "peculiar 'pact of mutual non-aggression'" between Oirats (Ölöts) and Khalkha Mongols, "in fact it was never observed by anyone."—O. L.)

[26] C. Wessels, S.J., *Early Jesuit travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721*, 179, The Hague, Nijhoff, 1924.

[27] E. Ysbrandts Ides, *The three years' land travels of his excellency E. Ysbrandts Ides from Moscow to China*, 126, 195, London, 1705.

and that Chingis used them as guides for his military expeditions.

The Jesuit Father Regis, who by order of the emperor K'ang Hsi was engaged in mapping the Hsining region in 1708–09, "encountered at Topa, a locality 40 *li* west of Hsining, three or four Catholic Armenians having a concern dealing with beautiful skins, which they bought among the Tartars." It is clear from Father Regis' account that Topa must have been a place of considerable size, for he wrote that in it "you can find all that you want in the way of foreign as well as Chinese merchandise, all kinds of drugs, dates, coffee, and so on." [28]

Another text, encountered in Courant,[29] gives interesting data about commercial and agricultural activities in Central Asia. A Russian delegate, Ivan Unkovskii, who arrived among the Jungars, reported that

> during the last thirty years, the Jungars have developed their agriculture, cultivating all kind of cereals and grits and raising all kinds of animals; they manufacture leather and cloth and iron wares, and by means of their commerce they have relations with India, Tibet, Russia, and China.[30]

At that time the Jungars were at the zenith of their glory and their realm covered the territories between Tashkent and Turfan and between Lake Zaisan and Tibet.

These facts support the assumption that the revival of commerce and trade which had never been cut off outside of Hsining began in Hsining as soon as the Ch'ing dynasty was established. The commerce with Tibet, and India, dealt mainly with luxury articles, as these texts prove; the bulk trade in wool, sheep, and lambskins is of relatively recent date. The revival of trade encouraged not only local industries but agriculture, for the supplying of caravans.

Later in this study reference will be made repeatedly to the year 1723, when there occurred the last general revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas of the Hsining and Kukunor region, after which, with the restoration of the Manchu emperor's authority, there were important changes in the status of tribes, monasteries, and lamas. This revolt in 1723 was the outcome of a century of Tibetan history. About 1630, in the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty was collapsing and the Manchus had not yet conquered China, the Deshi (prime minister) of the province of Tsang captured Lhasa, dethroned the King of Tibet, and assumed sovereignty over all Tibet. As an adherent of the Red Hat sect of Lamaism, he was hostile to the Yellow sect. Gushi,[31] Khan of the Ölöts, took possession of Kukunor in 1636, driving from Kukunor the Khalkha Mongols who were adherents of the Red Hat sect. After an expedition into Khamdo in 1638, he answered the call of the Dalai Lama, invaded Tibet and in 1641 defeated the Desi. Gushi Khan retained only the command of his troops of occupation. He transferred civil authority to the Fifth Dalai Lama, Lobsang Gyats'o, who became King of Tibet, took possession of the royal palace of the King, began the building of the Potala, and created the Panch'an, the second great "incarnation" of Tibet.

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[28] P. J. B. Du Halde, *Description de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*, 48, La Haye, 1736.

[29] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII^e^ et au XVIII^e^ siècles, empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou*, Lyon-Paris, *Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, N.S. 2 (26): 68, 1912.

[30] The original text is in N. I. Veselovskii, Posol'stvo k dzhungarskomu Khun-taidji Tsevan Rabtanu kapitana ot artillerii Ivana Unkovskogo i putevoi zhurnal ego na 1722-24, dokumenty, izdannye s predislovom i primechaniyami (The mission to the Jungar Khong Taiji Tsevan Rabtan of captain of artillery Ivan Unkovskii and his travel journal for 1722-24, documents, published with an introduction and notes), *Zapiski* of the Russian Geographical Society, Division of Ethnography, **10** (2), St. Petersburg, 1887.—O. L.

The Dalai Lama died in 1680. The Manchus were by then well established in China, and the emperor K'ang Hsi had long suspected the Dalai Lama and his prime minister of being in favor both of the Chinese rebel Wu San-kuei and of Galdan, the Khan of the Jungar Mongols. The prime minister [32] kept secret the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama for fourteen years, and the Sixth Dalai Lama began to take an active part in government only in 1696.

The great-grandson of Gushi, Latsang,[33] succeeded about 1700 to the position of Mongol overlord of Tibet that had been created by Gushi Khan. The new Dalai Lama, who was fond of pleasure, wine, and women, "renounced his spiritual prerogatives, although still maintaining his temporal rights and his suzerainty over Tibet," in 1702.[34] In 1705 Latsang Khan put to death the powerful Deshi or prime minister, and in 1706 he deposed the Dalai Lama and sent him to Peking. He died on the way; possibly but not certainly by foul play. A new incarnation of the Dalai Lama was then installed, who was reputed to be Latsang's natural son. In 1708, a rival "incarnation" appeared in Eastern Tibet, who soon received support among important Mongol princes of the Kukunor region.[35] It was in these developments that the great revolt of 1723 originated. The political forces at work in these intrigues may be summarized as follows: hegemony among the Ölöts, Oirats, or Western Mongols had passed to Tsevan Rabdan, of the Jungars, whose seat of power was in the Ili valley, in what is now Sinkiang province. His growing power alarmed the Manchu dynasty in China, which by supporting the Khalkhas against the Western Mongols had already acquired suzerainty over Outer Mongolia, but had not yet been able to conquer Sinkiang. Latsang Khan, in Tibet, himself a Western Mongol, did not want to submit to the overlordship of Tsevan Rabdan and the Jungars.

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[31] Referred to as Guśri, Khan of the Qóśots (Hoshuts, one of the tribes of the Ölöt federation) by L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early eighteenth century*, 8, Leiden, Brill, 1950.—O. L.

[32] He was the natural son of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Petech, *op. cit.*, 9).—O. L.

[33] Lha-bzan in Petech, *loc. cit.*—O. L.

[34] Petech, *loc. cit.*

[35] For the foregoing summary, see Petech, *op. cit.*, 12 *sqq.*—O. L.

He therefore sought the patronage of the Emperor of China, K'ang Hsi. Among the Kukunor Mongols, on the edge of Tibet, the most powerful princes were pro-Jungar and therefore hostile to Latsang Khan in Tibet and a potential danger to the Manchu power in China. Latsang Khan's nominee for recognition as Dalai Lama was therefore favored by K'ang Hsi against the nominee supported by the Kukunor Mongols; but at the same time he succeeded in having the rival infant Dalai Lama brought to the monastery of Kumbum, within reach of his military power, which would enable him to change his policy whenever it became expedient to do so.[36]

In 1717, two Jungar armies reached Lhasa and Kumbum (near Hsining); Latsang was killed, the Potala sacked, its priceless treasures looted, and the shrine of the revered Lobsang Gyats'o demolished.[37] With the death of Latsang Khan, the Manchu emperor changed his whole policy. Many of the Tibetans, especially in certain powerful lamaseries, had at first welcomed the Jungars; but the conduct of the Jungars had been so savage that there was soon a willingness to resist them. In 1718 the Manchu-Chinese forces moved into Tibet. After a severe defeat in 1718, they took Lhasa in 1720, with little fighting, the Jungar forces having been concentrated to meet forces coming from China on another line of march. As part of their new policy, the Manchus had recognized the "alternative" Dalai Lama (who was in the eyes of most Tibetans the legitimist claimant), and they now installed him in Lhasa.[38]

Tibet was now completely a Chinese protectorate. Manchu military efforts shifted away from Tibet toward the Jungar homeland in Sinkiang. As part of the new policy in Tibet, no effort was made to restore the former overlord position in Tibet of the ruling family of the Hoshut Mongols, the descendants of Gushi Khan.

In 1722 the emperor K'ang Hsi died. His successor, reigning under the style of Yung Cheng, attempted a policy of military and financial retrenchment. In 1723, in an attempt to take advantage of the situation, a rebellion was started among the Kukunor Mongols, led by Lobsang Dantsin (Blo-bzan-bstan-adsin in Petech, *op. cit.*), chief of the Kuknor branch of the Hoshuts and son of the second son of Gushi Khan, and therefore an uncle of the deceased Latsang Khan. His rebellion was supported by important monasteries and ecclesiastical dignitaries in the Hsining region. As it would, if successful, have cut the Hsining route from China to Lhasa and opened the way to a return of the Jungars, both the Manchu-Chinese and the Lhasa authorities reacted vigorously, especially the forces under General Nien Keng-

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[36] Petech, *op. cit.*, 15-18.—O. L.

[37] The raid on Kumbum failed in its primary objective, which was to get hold of the person of the "alternative" Dalai Lama. Petech, *op. cit.*, 35.—O. L.

[38] Petech, *op. cit.*, 58-61. See also W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of Tibet, *T'oung Pao* 11, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

175 yao, whose office was that of "warden of the marches." Monasteries in Hsining were pillaged and burned, nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries were degraded in rank, and the administration of the Kukunor-Hsining region brought under tighter control. Throughout the region, administrative units and the local distribution of Mongols and Tibetans, lasting until the end of the Manchu dynasty, date from the measures taken at this time.[39]

The Monguors, however, retained their political status, for it is said in the *Huang Ch'ing Fanpu Yao Lüeh* (ch. 11, p. *7a*), that "their troops under the command of the T'itu Yueh Chung-ch'i, the right hand of general Nien Keng-yao, fought in the repression of the lamaseries and of the Tibetans and Mongols." It was as reward for his outstanding services that the Lu T'u-ssu received a group of thirteen Tibetan villages as his subjects.

A memorable date in the history of Hsining is 1723; from that time on it was effectively organized on the pattern of a Chinese prefecture, peace was restored, and both agriculture and trade began to flourish.

This year was also a turning point in the history of the Monguor clans; the Monguors became definitely stabilized in their agricultural economy and expanded all over the country, many of them leaving their chiefs; new means of living were available, and consequently many changes occurred in their social organization.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE MONGUOR CLAN

COMPOSITION OF THE CLAN

769 In 1913 the festival of Ch'ing Ming, one of the most important all over China for the veneration of ancestors, fell on April 5. On that day I attended the famous yearly diet of the Ch'i clan, held in T'angpa at the graveyard of the founding ancestor of the clan. This diet was celebrated throughout the region for its display of pomp and grandeur; but that year all who attended were afraid that this might be the last such diet to be held. The atmosphere was heavy with depression and dejection, for rumors were current that the institution of T'u-ssu might be abolished by the Chinese Republic which two years before had replaced the Manchu Empire. The other clans had cancelled their celebrations, and in fact this proved to be the last such assembly ever held with the old magnificence and splendor.

The diet was a real revelation for me, a veritable seminar in ethnology. It was divided into three phases: the

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[39] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82–88. It is characteristic of China, with its vast extent and poor communications, that regions and regional history are strongly marked. Often a region, especially a frontier region, is more strongly affected by some great local event than by much greater, but more distant events that merely threw a shadow in passing. Thus the Lobsang Dantsin revolt, though of minor importance in the histories of either China or Tibet, was of major importance in its effects and lasting consequences in the region of Hsining and in the destiny of the Monguors.—O. L.

[p. 37-6]

769 veneration of the ancestors at the graveyard, the festival, and the meeting of the clan. I shall note here only the facts related to the structure of the clan as manifested in the solemn worship. I shall deal later with the other phases.

In the avenue leading straight from the entrance of the graveyard to the imposing mound of the ancestor the worshippers, holding incense sticks in their hands, stood erect. They were divided into two distinct groups, standing apart but both facing the mound. The offering disposed on a table before the mound included a hog, a pork pie, rolls of steamed bread, dried grapes, sugar, and pears.

As chief of the clan the T'u-ssu stood in front of both groups and performed the libations, the burning of paper, and the offering of the sacrifices.

The first of the two groups mentioned above was disposed in six rows, each of which performed in succession the veneration of the ancestor by prostration. Then the members of the first row, in a group, turned and honored, by bowing, the members of the five other rows. Those of the second row, after having honored the members of the first row by prostrating themselves, turned and honored the members of the next four rows with a simple bow, and so on. The pork pie and the rolls, sacrifices for the ancestor, were then divided among the members of the six rows, who by eating some of the food partook at the graveyard in a sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor. Later a piece of pork from the hog was offered to each of the families of members of the six rows.

After this sacrificial meal, the large second group approached the mound, and prostrated themselves in a group (not in separate rows), holding incense sticks in their joined hands, to venerate the ancestor. Then, prostrating themselves again in a group, they honored the members of the first group. They did not partake of the sacrificial meal. This concluded the rites at the graveyard.

The members of the first group only then went to the courtyard of Ch'i Sen-k'o (Ch'i the lion),[1] a wealthy Monguor, in order to honor the clan register of genealogy according to regular ritual and to bring it up to date by entering the names of members deceased since the last diet.

769 These rites reveal the internal structure and social organization of the Monguor clan.

618 The T'u-ssu, as recognized chief of the clan, officiated at the sacrifice, acting in front of the whole clan and in its name.

All members of the clan, as bearers of the same surname, claim descent from a common ancestor, and therefore they assemble at the grave mound of this common ancestor to venerate him collectively.

The general assembly is, however, divided into two

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[1] From Monguor *senggi*, Mongol *sengge*, Tibetan *senge*, "lion."

769 618 groups, and the differences between these groups demand analysis.

1. The members of the first group are disposed in six rows which venerate the ancestor in succession and in the same way, but each row honors the others in different ways. The first row honors the five others with a simple bow. The second row honors the first row by prostration, but the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth rows by bowing only. The third row honors the first and second rows by prostration, but the fourth, fifth, and sixth rows only by bowing, and so on down.

2. All the members of the large second group venerate the ancestor by prostration, not in rows of precedence but as a uniform group. They honor the members of the six rows of the first group by the same rite of prostration, and this they also do collectively and simultaneously.

3. The members of the first group, the six rows, partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor; the members of the second group are excluded from this rite.

4. The members of the first group honor the genealogical register in the presence of the T'u-ssu, and the names of their deceased are carefully inscribed in this register according to a special ritual. The members of the second group are not allowed to honor the register and the names of their deceased are debarred from the precious book.

I was delayed in arriving at a logical analysis of these differences by the existence of a mistaken "folk" concept of the structure of the Monguor clan. According to this popular and universally accepted tradition, all members of the clan bear the same surname, which is the same as that of their chief, and therefore all are assumed to be the descendants of a common ancestor. Moreover, the pattern of actual behavior follows this tradition. In conformity with the principle of patrilineal exogamy, the boys of the clan are not allowed to marry girls of their own clan. In addition, all members of the clan venerate the same founding ancestor, as described above.

Nevertheless the existence of two groups, ritually differentiated from each other, leads inevitably to the conclusion that in each clan the members of the first are true descendants of a common ancestor, while those of the second group are commoners, descendants of other ancestors, who have been assimilated to clan status, though incompletely and at a subordinate level.

The six rows of "true" clan members represent six different generations of descent from the founding ancestor, through his sons.[2] Therefore the members of the senior generation worship the ancestor first, followed by the cadet generations in descending order. Similarly each cadet generation, from second to fifth,

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[2] This does *not* mean that a man in the youngest generation had his own father, grandfather, etc., up to the fifth ascending generation still living. It means simply that owing to wide age spreads within any generation, it was ultimately possible to have assembled a group of kinsmen in which six different generations were represented.

[p. 38b]

769 accords to its seniors a prostration, but to its juniors only a simple bow.

618 Collectively, the six lines of true genealogical descent form an elite. The "assimilated" commoners are admitted to the general rites and bear the clan name, but are excluded from the inner rites according to the principle that there cannot be actual participation in the veneration of other people's ancestors. Hence also their exclusion from the genealogical register.

The secondary status of the commoners is shown not only by their exclusion from the register and the sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor, but by their collective prostration before the elite group. The ranking by seniority of generations, so important for the elite group, does not concern them, since those in the elite group are not in fact their kinsmen but simply represent, in a collective, undifferentiated way, the "lords" or descendants of the noble ancestor to whom their own ancestors became subject long ago.

The strongest confirmation, however, of the fact that the commoners are assimilated members of the clan and not true descendants of the clan ancestor is to be found in the fact that their dead are not entered in the genealogical record of the clan and they are not admitted to the rite of honoring the genealogical record. This exclusion would not be possible if they had any real claim to descent from the clan ancestor because in the larger Oriental cultural complex of which they are a marginal society to be debarred from the family register is the most shameful dishonor. Other facts also support the conclusion that commoners do in reality have their own line or lines of descent. They have their own cemeteries. In these cemeteries they carry out their own ceremonies of ancestral veneration, including the sacrificial meal of "communion." There is no indication that these ancestors of the commoners are regarded as offshoots from the line of the noble elite of the clan. Some of the wealthier commoners even have their own genealogical registers; but among all the seventeen Monguor groups, I never heard of a common ancestor of the entire commoner group. This absence of a claim to a common ancestor of the subject group suggests that the subject groups derive originally not from a single subject clan but from a number of subject clans, each with its own ancestor.

Analyses of the kind made above are never made by the Monguors themselves. When asked why all members of the clan, including the subject commoners, bear the same surname as the chief, the stock reply is simply that this has always been customary among them, and really it was so of old.[3]

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[3] B. Y. Vladimirtsov, in his *Régime social des Mongols,* translated by M. Carsow, 88, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1948 (the original Russian edition was published in Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1934), writes that *unagan bogol* (hereditary vassals), and even "simple" *bogol* (slaves) were allowed to keep the memory of their "bones" and their clans, but "migrated in camps bear-

618 582 In a clan structure grouped under a single clan name, the principle of exogamy is in theory supposed to be strict, but the practice varies somewhat from the theory, again indicating that the nominal clan includes a true genealogical clan together with families that have been assimilated to the clan. In a Monguor clan it is, for example, permitted for Monguor men to marry girls of families of known Chinese or Tibetan origin who have enrolled in the clan. I have also been told that among some groups of the commoners in the Li and Lu clans, Monguor boys marry Monguor girls of the same clan. They claim that in permitting such marriages they follow the practice of the Chinese, who allow marriages between families bearing the same surname (especially if it is one of the very common surnames), if the two clans are considered to be descended in fact from different original ancestors. Exogamy is, however, strictly observed among the noble or elite families who do claim true genealogical descent from a common ancestor; but once in a while a poor noble marries the daughter of a commoner of his clan.

If we may accept it as proved that the commoners are of different descent from the nobles, we are still faced with the problem of determining the real origin of the commoners. The Monguors, when asked about the difference between nobles and commoners, say that "things have always been that way." It is not surprising to find among the nobles, however, vestiges of a tradition explaining how they acquired their subject commoners. I have been told by no less than three T'u-ssu—the Ch'i, Li, and Ah—that the commoners are descendants of tribes which had been conquered by the ancestors of the T'u-ssu.

PROCESS OF CLAN FORMATION AT THE TIME OF CHINGIS KHAN

618 175 For a comparison we may turn to the record of what is known about the way that Chingis Khan allocated territories and subjects to his sons, brothers, and leading generals. Vladimirtsov has described how Chingis assigned territories to the nobility that he created as a result of his conquests, and how he gave them sometimes whole tribes and sometimes fragments of tribes to live in these territories and be ruled by them.[4] The result was a social structure in which—as we see in miniature in the surviving Monguor society—the nobility were quite clear about their claims of descent, either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors," while the subject population, of diverse origin, were less clear about their genealogies but closely associated with their rulers in a manner that remained partly tribal but had become partly feudal. Under this system, there was a protocol which nominally required each ruling prince or noble to furnish to his sovereign a

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ing the name of their suzerain clan, under the orders of the latter."

[4] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 124, 125, 127. [p. 39 b]

618 175 definite number of troops, whenever required, according to the size of his territory and the numbers of the population. Such appanages could be under the rule not only of families descended from the imperial clan, but of families whose "founding ancestors" were antrustions.[5] The origin and social condition of the commoners among the Monguor clans are clearly to be explained in this manner.

It appears probable that the Monguor groups began to form in this way as early as the rule of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty. At the very beginning of the Ming dynasty we find the chiefs of all the Monguor groups submitting to Chinese rule, but we do not find any record of groups of the Monguor type being actually created by the Ming emperors. We may therefore suppose that generally speaking the Monguor commoners of today are the descendants of families who were already subject commoners in the Mongol period before the Ming dynasty, with the later addition of a number of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. As to the manner in which such later additions could be made, I have already mentioned the fact that the Lu T'u-ssu received from the Manchu emperor thirteen Tibetan villages, numbering 2,365 persons, to be his commoners and subjects, as a reward for military services rendered during the historical revolt of 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87).

175 The processes of clan formation thus resulted in the evolution of four kinds of clan chiefs:

618 1. Chiefs who, with their related nobles, claimed descent from the Mongol imperial family of the Yuan;

624 2. Commoners who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

3. Antrustions, individual warriors, who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

4. Chiefs of clans who submitted voluntarily to the Yuan dynasty with their nobles and commoners.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHIEFS AND NOBLES IN THE MONGUOR CLANS

175 624 Among the seventeen Monguor clans, two are recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu as being descended from the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty: the Ch'i clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 35) and the Lu clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55). The family chronicles of the Lu clan, as already mentioned, are in my possession and I am planning to edit and publish them.

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[5] This term, taken from early European feudalism, is used in the French translation of Vladimirtsov for the Russian term *druzhinnik* which Vladimirtsov uses to translate the Mongol term *nukur*, literally "friend." In the simplest terms, a *nukur* was a free warrior who voluntarily attached himself to the leader of a war-band, establishing a relationship of personal loyalty transcending all clan and other obligations. Some of the greatest commanders who served Chingis Khan began as *nukur*. Mongol *nukur*, Russian *drug*, "friend," whence *druzhinnik*, and Greek ξένος, "guest-friend," all have a root meaning of "other," "foreign" (to my own clan); institutionally they share with Latin *comes*, whence the title "count," the meaning of an association formed personally, not by circumstance of birth.—O. L.

175 124 The Shat'o Turkish clans were already settled in the country before the invasion of the Mongols, and submitted to them when the Mongols founded the Yuan dynasty.[6]

There are no historical references available for the origin of the chiefs and the nobles of the other Monguor clans nor was I ever able to find any surviving traditions on the subject.[7]

They may have been founded by military commanders who were commoners by birth and perhaps antrustions by career. Such founders of clans would be given subject families in reward for their services; and, as the reward would be proportionate to the services rendered, the number of families thus allocated would be larger or smaller. Since commanders had to recruit their troops among their own subjects, the number of families allocated to them as subjects was determined by their military rank. According to this reasoning the military rank of the chiefs of the smaller Monguor clans must have been low. It may be that the small clans were small at the time when they submitted to the Yuan dynasty, and that their chiefs were accordingly made military commanders of small units.

175 The influence wielded by the Shat'o group in Hsining during the Yuan dynasty must have been very important, for at the time of their submission to the Ming, Li Nan-ko held one of the highest civil offices in Hsining, that of T'ungchih, while his nephew held the office of Tutu chihhuei t'ungchih. What could have been the reason for the extraordinarily friendly feelings of the Mongols toward the Shat'o Turks?

The son of Li-K'o-yung, the famous prince of Chin, founded in China the ephemeral dynasty of the Hou T'ang, which lasted only from 923 to 936. After the overthrow of this dynasty, one branch of the Shat'o fled to the Yin-shan range, north of Suiyuan, and was later entrusted with the protection of the northwest frontiers of the Chin empire (1115–1260). These Shat'o were called the Wang-ku (Ongut) of the Yin-shan. A second branch fled to Lin-t'ao, in southern Kansu, where they were known as the Wang-ku of Lin-t'ao. These Shat'o were later transferred by the Chin to Liao-tung (Manchuria). At the beginning of the thirteenth century Alakush Tegin, chief of the Onguts of the Yin-shan, betrayed the Chin emperor and followed and aided Chingis Khan, with whom he entered into alliance in 1206. In 1209 Chingis gave his daughter Alaghi Beki to the eldest son of this Ongut chief. Ongut troops aided the Mongol general Mukhali in subduing China.[8]

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[6] *Cf. Wu tai shih chi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*; Ponapen edition.

[7] For the founding in Kansu province of a noble family of Uighur origin, under the Yuan dynasty, see F. W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of prince Hindu," *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.* 12 (1 & 2), 1949.—O. L.

[8] P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient, *T'oung Pao* 15: 630, 1914. A. J. H. Charignon, *Le livre de Marco Polo* 1: 247–248, Peking, Nachbauer, 1924. H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of North China*, 114–133–139, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

[p. 40-6]

175 But the third branch of the Shat'o[b] was at that time grazing its herds in the country of Huang Chung between Hsining and Kanchou. It may well be that the Mongol invaders were glad to join hands with them in 1226, and to entrust high offices on the Tibetan frontier to their chiefs. Although these Shat'o Turks held high civil offices under the Yuan, however, nothing is known about the military appointments that they held during this period.

DEVELOPMENT OF CLAN STRUCTURE

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624 While each of the Monguor and Shat'o clans settled in Kansu before the founding of the Ming dynasty, the present rank of the "T'u-ssu" in each clan traces back to an appointment early in the Ming dynasty; and on the date of this appointment depends, in turn, the division of the descendants of the first T'u-ssu into Houses, each with its own property.

THE POSITION OF THE T'U-SSU

The genealogical register of each clan accordingly starts with the appointment of the first T'u-ssu. The family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu line start with T'o-Huan (Togon), who was granted the title of Prince of Nanting under the Mongol emperor, but was first appointed T'u-ssu of the clan by the Ming. In the register of his genealogy are recorded only his descendants; his brothers, kinsmen, and even his parents are not mentioned. In this way he and not his father was established as the founding ancestor of the new clan. It was to him that the Ming Emperor assigned a territory; he was confirmed by the Emperor in the "possession" of his subjects, who were by the imperial decree forbidden to abandon him.

The brothers of such a founding ancestor could not lay any claim either to the possession of any piece of land inside his territory or to any group of his subjects; if they were allowed to live on his territory and received some subjects, it was merely by an act of grace on his part.

Not only does the genealogical register of each clan start with the first T'u-ssu, but at his death the Monguors started building a new cemetery in which the mound of the first T'u-ssu occupied the prominent site, thus indicating the beginning of a new order; at the mound of this founding ancestor, in the "old graveyard," as it is now called, the ancestors are venerated on the day of the yearly diet of the clan. Similarly, the image of the first T'u-ssu occupies the central place in the temple of the ancestors of the clan. All of these facts confirm that the first T'u-ssu is regarded as the founding chief and real origin of the clan.

The T'u-ssu forms a unit with his offspring who are classified as being of his "bone." The Monguor family

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[b] According to *Wu Tai shihchi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*, Ponapen edition

[p. 41a]

175 624 being based on the agnatic principle, the oldest son inherits the leadership of the clan, after the death of his father.

By the beginning of the present century (1911-1922), however, the T'u-ssu was no longer living in one group with his noble kinsmen; he was not the provider of all their needs, including food and clothing; he and his nobles no longer constituted a large family; and T'u-ssu and nobles were no longer living entirely at the expense of the commoners.

The nobles were by this time living in separate and distinct families, each forming an independent economic unit. Consequently some were poor and some rich. In this economic aspect, there was no longer a distinction between nobles and commoners. Noble families bought and sold land, cattle, and grain to each other and to commoners in exactly the same way, and the rise or fall of a family's fortunes depended on the industry or laziness, the good or bad fortune, of its members.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NOBLE HOUSES

175 618 In the inheritance of wealth among nobles, however, there is a peculiar institution to be considered. In each clan the nobles are divided into branches, called "houses." In some clans there are three houses, in others four or five; in the Li clan there are thirteen. Each noble family knows the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called "the great House," the second is called the second House, and so on. Each house comprises the descendants of one of the sons of the founding ancestor of the clan who was appointed T'u-ssu at or soon after the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. During his life, the wealth, grain, cattle, cultivated land, and money of the founding ancestor were divided among his sons. If there were three sons, the eldest by right of being the first born succeeded his father as T'u-ssu and chief of the clan; but the property of the founding ancestor was divided in three parts. The new T'u-ssu and his two brothers each inherited one part, with only the distinction that the eldest son received a somewhat larger portion of fields and cattle. The privilege of a large portion was passed on to the eldest son in each succeeding generation.[10]

The number of houses established according to the number of the sons of the founding ancestor has continued ever since as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify each other by houses, saying "I belong to" or "he belongs to the third House." In principle, also, the patrimony of each house was permanently established at this first division. In practice, however, if the descendants of either the great House or one of the junior houses

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[10] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 224. "the Mongol feudal seigneur . . . usually received his fief by inheritance and transmitted it to his son. Mongol seigneurs apportioned inheritances to their sons during their own lifetime, reserving the essential part of the heritage to the eldest son, after their death." The old custom of preserving the principal fief of the father for the youngest son had disappeared by the time of the Yuan dynasty.

[P. 41-b]

618 175 grew numerous they could subdivide the patrimony; the new subdivisions would then continue as independent households or families responsible to each other in vicissitudes of wealth or poverty.

In Monguor society since the Ming, only the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of the commoners. None of the houses disposed of commoners as subjects. It is quite clear, however, that in former times among the nomads each group of nobles was a real possessor of subjects. Subjects and territory were regarded as assigned to the clan by the emperor and were understood to belong to the whole clan and not to the chief alone. Accordingly, when a noble was at odds with the clan, he could leave it, taking with him his portion of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or found a new clan. In this way it often happened that when clans were at war with each other, there would be subgroups in each of them that belonged to the same "bone," although they were engaged in killing each other.[11]

The idea of the collective "ownership," by the blood-related noble families, of the subject commoners persists more strongly under a nomad economy, for obvious reasons, than it does under an agricultural economy, but memories of it persist among nomads who have become farmers. This concept seems to have prevailed among the Shat'o, who before the Ming dynasty were already divided into two groups, one of 4,000 families and one of 963 families. The chiefs of each of these groups were made T'u-ssu. Later, at the end of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu Li Hua-lung of the line of Li Nan-ko died without issue and troubles broke out over the succession. The Manchu empire appointed a claimant named Li T'ien-yu as T'u-ssu, but allowed the troublesome pretender Li Hua-nao to take 100 families from the 4,000-family group, and granted him a separate title of T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 8).

Trouble among the noble families of the Lu clan seems also to have been the reason why six members of this clan were created T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 52, pp. 58–59). The craving for subjects, based on the old custom, seems to have been the cause of these troubles, although the *Annals* gloss over the matter, as is often done in Chinese chronicles to "save face," by allowing it to be understood that each of the six new T'u-ssu had deserved his appointment through meritorious service on the Tibetan frontier.

624 175 The same lingering tradition that the nobles had or ought to have a right to dispose of a number of subjects may account for the fact that, in lieu of a division of subject commoners among the sons of a founding ancestor, each of the houses was assigned the land tax revenue of a fixed number of villages of commoners. This meant that when the patrimony of the founding ancestor was divided, the land taxes of the villages followed the division of the inheritance. Here again the

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[11] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 79.

[p 42a]

624 175 eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

624 651 175 578 At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is probable that they needed no other income to live at leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

624 651 578 In some houses the constituent families agree with each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

624 651 563 The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

624 651 563 taxes are collected from Chinese who graze their herds on the clan territory. When the T'u-ssu sitting in judgment settles a quarrel, he collects a payment. He also expects gifts in cash when he makes his triennial visit to the villages and on the occasion of funerals and marriages.

As opposed to these sources of personal revenue, the T'u-ssu has very few administrative expenses because most administration is carried on through the obligatory services of clan members. The few Chinese secretaries who are employed receive instead of salary the allocation of fields which they are allowed to farm without paying land taxes. Since there are no schools, there is no budget for education, nor is there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings because all such work is done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans, in addition to unskilled labor, being available through the institution of obligatory labor services (corvée). Since each village has to provide a fixed number of soldiers, with their full equipment, uniforms, weapons, horses, tents, food, etc., there is no budget for military expenses.

THE CHIEF OF THE CLAN

624 618 The description of the composition of the clan that has been given in the preceding pages raises by implication the problem of the origin and evolution of the clan chief.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE CLAN CHIEF INSTITUTION

The clan chief is *not an essential element* of the clan. Vladimirtsov,[12] drawing on the Mongol *Secret History* and other chronicle material, demonstrates that, in periods when the pastoral tribes of Mongolia were not unified in large groups under powerful clans, it was quite common to find clans without a regular hereditary aristocracy, led simply by self-constituted chiefs who were heads of families. By way of comparison, it may be noted that most of the small Tibetan tribes of the Hsining region have no aristocracy of chiefs, but are ruled by a sort of council of the heads of families.

The historical and comparative material makes it clear that in clan societies without hereditary chiefs leaders may be designated temporarily and for specific purposes, such as the organization of community hunting drives, raids on other tribes, or defense against raiders. Leadership in such cases may be influenced by, but not solely determined by, seniority in the clan. It may also be influenced by the personal characteristics of resourcefulness or aggressiveness in the man who becomes a leader, or by the number of his relatives and friends and the degree to which they are respected in the community, and, therefore, it may be said that such leadership simultaneously carries a tinge of usurpation by the

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[12] *Op. cit.*, 93

[P. 43a]

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individual and a tinge of election or delegation by those whom he leads. To the extent that this kind of leadership is not a well-defined institution, it is not surprising to find that the authority of the leader can be contested and that those who do not accept his leadership may leave the clan either to join other clans or to found a new clan.

There is an inherent tendency for such temporary leadership to become institutionalized and hereditary when a leader of commanding personality succeeds in providing his clan with booty and vassals, and lives long enough to prepare the way for a son to succeed him. Permanent and hereditary chiefs may, however, also be imposed by a conquerer. In the case of the Monguors, the new Mongol empire that resulted from the Mongol conquests was powerful enough to assign fixed territories to the Monguor clans and to designate hereditary ruling chiefs, so that chieftanship had already become hereditary and aristocratic. This view is supported by the fact that when the Mongol Empire was overthrown and the Ming dynasty established in 1368, there were no less than seventeen chiefs of Monguor and Shat'o clans who were able to offer their allegiance to the Ming emperor as chiefs whose authority, territory, and subject following were locally recognized.

As the institution of hereditary chief was established or reestablished under the Ming, with the specific title of T'u-ssu, it is clear that it had conserved its social as well as its political and military characteristics, and so in the status and functions of the chief of a clan a number of aspects are to be discerned.

By virtue of his birth in the clan, the clan chief presides over the cult aspects of religion in the clan. He is the chief figure in ceremonies venerating the ancestors; he is the guardian of the genealogical register; he also heads the cult of the guardian deity of the clan, whose temple is maintained in his mansion. He is also the ruler of his clan according to the laws of succession recognized within the clan, and at the same time under the Ming dynasty, the Manchu dynasty and the Chinese Republic, he was, by appointment of the overlord state, the ruler of both the clan and its territory. In all these capacities it was his duty to act as chief of the nobles and lord of the commoners, to preside over the meetings of elders, to adjudicate quarrels, to protect his subjects against infringements on their rights and privileges, and to command the armed forces of the clan in time of war.

RULES OF SUCCESSION OF THE CLAN CHIEF

In the rules of succession to the position of chief, although the office of chief of a clan is not open to competition, there are in fact elements of heredity, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. A man does not become chief because he has held previous high office, because he has a commanding personality, or because he is a popular leader. Nor can he usurp the leadership

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618 because he is backed by a group of friends. He succeeds to office according to certain definite customs of the clan.

624 The chief must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestor." When a T'u-ssu dies, the heads of all the noble families, together with the most prominent heads of families among the commoners, convene to choose a successor. It may seem anomalous that commoners should take part in the choosing of a new chief. The way in which the lower status of commoners in the ceremonial veneration of the clan ancestor is emphasized has already been described. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles that can never be completely eliminated. Nevertheless, in the last years of the history of the old Monguor society the differences between nobles and commoners had in many ways practically ceased to exist. The heads of prominent commoner families took part in all meetings at which clan affairs were discussed. In the Monguor clans, there were commoners who were wealthier, more learned, more honored in the community, and more proficient in administrative matters than many of the nobles. It even occurred that when there were quarrels among the nobles, distinguished and respected commoners were called in to mediate. It may be, therefore, either that the participation of commoners in the choice of the new chief represents no more than a condescension on the part of the nobles, for the sake of mere civility, or that there is a lingering tradition from the ancient times of tribal history that the choice of the ruling part of the tribe (now the Monguor clan) must be ratified by the consent of the governed part of the tribe.[13]

Examination of the lists of the genealogies of all the Monguor clans as they are recorded in the *Annals* of the Prefecture of Hsining suggests the conclusion that the first son of the first wife of the T'u-ssu regularly succeeded to the office of his father. If the senior son died before his father but left a living son, then this son was entitled to the succession even if he were only an adopted son. In case the senior son died before his father and left no male issue, however, the next senior brother of the T'u-ssu, or that brother's son, was entitled to the succession. In the family chronicles of the Lu clan I have found one exception to this rule, and only one, a case in which the first son of the first wife did not succeed, the succession going instead to the brother next senior to him. I shall deal with this instance in the study of the genealogy of this clan which I am preparing for publication.

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611 When a T'u-ssu dies leaving no sons, trouble usually breaks out in the clan because each of the surviving brothers of the T'u-ssu is eager to secure the succession either for himself or for his own eldest son. In such cases, if one of the contending brothers has more influence in the community than the others, or is richer or more popular with the clan, he succeeds in getting his

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[13] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 100.

618 578 611 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

175 618 578 611 According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, p. 8) the last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies [562] [428] without male issue. In any case, a daughter never succeeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

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618 as the eldest son, received the first and most distant appanage.[14] Lattimore, making a generalized comment on the nomadic Mongol society, writes as follows.

> There is a very ancient concept of authority inherent in the life of a people whose mobile property in livestock makes it easy for them to move from one place to another. According to this concept, a "tribe" consists of an indefinite number of "unnoble" families ruled by a hereditary "noble" family. The "chief," who became stabilized as a "prince" when the Manchus ruled Mongolia by remote control, was not necessarily the eldest son of the previous chief. When a chief died his successor was chosen from a "panel," which included not only his own sons but the sons of his brothers. The brothers, uncles and male first cousins of the late chief [on the father's side] formed a clan council of "yesterday's generations" of the hereditary noble family. This clan council chose the new chief from the panel of sons and nephews, which represented "today's generation." This new chief had to be accepted by the tribe. If he were not satisfactory the tribe might demur, either at once or later. The clan council might then recall the chief, replacing him by one of his brothers, one of his male first cousins on the father's side or one of his own sons or nephews in the male line. All this rested on a still more basic sanction; if the chief did not suit the tribe, the tribe or part of the tribe might desert him. They might either run away and join some tribe which had a better chief, or more rarely some new leader might, by proving his efficiency, make himself a new chief and so found a new tribe with a new, hereditary noble family. In short, a chief had ultimately to justify himself by his ability to lead his tribe, as well as by his hereditary claims. The more anxious and dangerous the times the more pressing the demand that he meet the needs of the people.[15]

INSTALLATION OF THE CLAN CHIEF

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618 The following account of the installation of the chief of a clan is mostly from information given to me by the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of Nienpei, with whom and with whose family I was on terms of intimate friendship.

An auspicious day is chosen, usually by a lama. The ceremonies begin with a banquet, at which the principal guest is the senior maternal uncle of the chief who is about to be installed. According to the Monguor saying, the brothers of the mother are the "masters of the bones" of the children of their sister. In ordinary life, they are the most honored guests when her children are married, and when her children die they cannot be buried without the permission of a maternal uncle; similarly at this most important moment in the life of a new chief, it is the maternal uncles who hold the place of honor among the guests.

To the feast are invited the heads of the noble families, the most prominent of the non-nobles, the officials of the T'u-ssu administration, and the local officials of the Monguor villages. An old nobleman makes a speech in which he says that on this day the entire clan recognizes its new chief, whom he mentions by name, as chief of

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[14] W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, trans. and ed. by H. A. R. Gibb, 392, London, Luzac, 1928.

[15] Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 317, New York, Doubleday, 1941.

[p. 45a]

796 618 the clan. The whole clan, he says, is happy to express its obedience and its willingness to help and serve him; the clan hopes that he may be as glorious a chief as his ancestors of old in defending the clan and its component families.

The new clan chief first kneels down and bows nine times to his maternal uncle; then the noble members of the clan of generations senior to that of the new chief stand in line before him, salute him reverently three times, and join hands. The new chief, at the command of the master of ceremonies, then kneels down and bows nine times to them, touching the earth with his forehead at each bow.

The noble clan members who are of the same generation as the new chief then line up, kneel down, and (again at the command of the master of ceremonies) reverently bow their heads nine times to the earth before their new chief, after which the new chief acknowledges their homage by greeting them in the same way. Finally, the members of generations younger than that of the new chief perform the ceremony, but this time the new chief makes acknowledgment only by a standing bow, not by kneeling and bowing his head to the earth. Finally the whole group of commoners and officials kneel down and bow nine times to the bowing T'u-ssu. The whole group then goes to the hall of the ancestors, where paper and incense are burned by the newly appointed chief. Those present bow their heads reverently while standing in rows according to their rank and generation, in time with the command of the master of ceremonies. The ancestors are thus supposed to have received the announcement of the appointment of the new chief. Then all go to the temple of the guardian deity of the clan.

As I shall discuss the importance of the maternal uncle in Monguor society in a later chapter, I shall here make only a brief comment on the fact that at the significant moment when, in a society organized on a patrilineal family system, the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to office as the chief of the clan, it is his maternal uncle who has the place of honor. The occasion being one in which ancient customs are likely to be preserved, we are entitled to assume that the importance of the maternal uncle goes very far back in the history of Monguor society.

THE CLAN CHIEF BECOMES A CHINESE OFFICIAL

624 175 618 The chief of the clan must next be considered in his function as T'u-ssu, an office that he holds by the appointment of the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans are quasi-feudal frontier dependents. Under the Mongol Empire, the Monguors were entitled to consider themselves kinsmen of the Mongol rulers of China. When the Mongol Empire fell and the Chinese Ming dynasty was established, the Monguor chiefs who submitted to it did so as the result of a decision of supreme importance; by adhering to the Ming dynasty they renounced the alternative of retreating into Inner Asia

624 175 618 with other Mongol tribes, denounced in effect their ties of tribal loyalty, to other Mongols, and declared their willingness to serve as feudal subordinates guarding the Chinese frontier against the inroads of Mongols, Tibetans, or other "outer barbarians." When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-ssu, they ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese emperor.

THE T'U-SSU INSTITUTION

The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. The first historical record of an institution comparable to that of T'u-ssu is to be found in the institution of the Chimichou, under the T'ang dynasty (618–906). Under this institution the T'ang dynasty organized "barbarian" subject tribes in "circumscriptions" ruled by hereditary native chiefs who received investiture from the emperor.[16] The institution of T'u-ssu was known under the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, was reorganized and given its definite form under the Ming dynasty, and was continued under the Manchu dynasty. It survived under the Chinese Republic.

As an institution, the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal, non-Chinese peoples, attached to but not yet absorbed into the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native chief" and as Chinese official.

CHOICE OF CLAN CHIEF RATIFIED BY EMPEROR

624 648 The choosing of a new chief by the clan itself has already been described. This choice had then to be ratified. This was done through the administrative office of the T'u-ssu, acting as a bureaucratic office and not as the personal office of the T'u-ssu, which sent an official notice of the death of the previous T'u-ssu to the governor of the Province, to be forwarded to the capital at Peking, giving the day, hour, and circumstances of the death of the T'u-ssu. At the same time a petition was sent, through the same channels, imploring the emperor to appoint to the office of T'u-ssu the man whom the clan had selected as its new chief. In the event that the new chief of the clan was a minor, the petition requested that his mother be appointed regent. The emperor, granting the petition, then appointed the new clan chief to the office of T'u-ssu (or, if the son were a minor, appointed his mother as regent). The mother's regency ended when the son married or when he reached the age

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[16] P. Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'extrême Orient,* 1125, 1904. Leng Shun-Sheng, T'u-ssu chi tu, in *Frontier affairs* (*Pien cheng Kunglün*) 3 (2): 11-12, 1944.

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624 648 of sixteen. In 1916 I was present to congratulate the young T'u-ssu of the clan of Lu of Liench'eng when he assumed office after his mother had acted as regent for eight years.

The custom of entrusting the regency to the mother is an old Mongol tradition,[17] which the Ming dynasty recognized and took over. It should be noted that the Ming dynasty, though in its early years it was strong enough to conduct campaigns far afield in Mongolia, never had a firm control of the Mongolian and Inner Asian frontier as a whole. It was, therefore, well pleased when any Mongol tribes submitted of their own free will and was glad to make concessions in the way of recognizing their tribal institutions.

INVESTITURE OF THE T'U-SSU: CEREMONY DIPLOMA, AND SEAL

624 648 796 When a T'u-ssu received his Imperial appointment, he was granted a diploma and seal. Only three Mongol T'u-ssu, those of the Lu, Li, and Ch'i clans, received a seal worked in brass, because of the merits of their ancestors in defending the empire against Mongol and Tibetan inroads and rebellious Muslims. The other T'u-ssu were granted a seal worked in wood.[18] These seals, under the Manchu dynasty, were engraved with Chinese and Manchu inscriptions (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 39).

It was the receipt of the diploma and the custody of the seal, equivalent to personal investiture by the emperor, that conferred on the T'u-ssu the power to exercise his functions. On the one hand they symbolized his subjection to the overlord state; on the other hand they symbolized the delegation, by the sovereign overlord, of the power to rule in the territory allocated to the custodian of the seal.

The receipt of the diploma and seal was, therefore, considered the most important moment in the life of the T'u-ssu, and an honor not only to him personally but to the whole clan. The receipt of the diploma and the consignment of the seal into the hands of the T'u-ssu were, therefore, the occasion for a celebration in which the whole clan joyfully took part, willingly contributing money and time in order to make possible a display of pomp and magnificence. The whole clan was in fact called into active service. Each village, according to its importance, was assessed for a contribution of a definite number of sheep, pigs, chickens, and a cow, all of which had to be delivered to the mansion of the chief. Each village was also assessed a certain amount of wheat, a fixed sum of money, and was required to make a

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[17] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 67, 68. "Widows with minor children had autocratic power over the possessions of the family until their sons had grown up and married; consequently they took the place of their husbands in all respects and enjoyed their rights."

[18] Seals of higher ranks were carved in jade, gold, silver, etc., indicating that even the highest of the Monguor T'u-ssu were regarded as relatively petty feudatories.—O. L.

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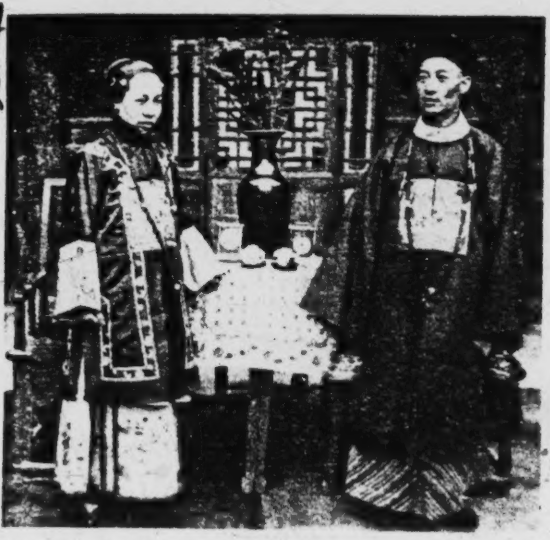

FIG. 2. Li T'u-ssu and his wife. Taken at his home in Hsining in 1914. According to Li T'u-ssu, he and his wife are wearing the costumes given to his ancestor by the Emperor Shih-Tsung (Yung Cheng period, 1723–35), of the Manchu dynasty, after the victorious campaign against Lobtsang Danzan in 1723, in which this ancestor took an active part on the side of the emperor. The costumes are reverently preserved in the family. It was customary, when a man received such a costume, to present his wife with a costume matching his in its symbols of rank and dignity.

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contribution, on loan, of kettles, bowls, chop sticks, and all kinds of utensils.[19]

A number of young folk, determined by protocol, were summoned from each village to pitch tents in the precincts of the T'u-ssu's mansion, to build small temporary kitchens, to slaughter animals, cook food, serve, grind wheat, chop wood, carry fuel and water, whitewash the whole mansion, and repair the walks and paths in the courtyards of the mansion. Everyone working was fed by his own village. The chiefs of the groups of nobles, and of the villages, were bound to supervise all the preliminary arrangements, and when the actual day of the investiture arrived, they had to attend the ceremony in full official dress and help to entertain the guests.

The Monguor troops were called out in full levy, clad in brand new uniforms which had been sewed by the village women and paid for by the villagers. In addition to neighboring T'u-ssu, the most important Chinese civil and military officials of the prefecture were invited to take part in the celebration. In the old days, before Hsining had become a separate province, a prominent official was sent from Lanchou, capital of the province

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[19] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 148, notes the requisitioning of food from the common people for the nobles in Mongolia at and after the time of Chingis Khan. The term for these requisitions is *shi̇̈üsün* (*shüsün*), meaning "ration," "provision."

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of Kansu, to convey to the T'u-ssu the diploma and seal sent from Peking. For the use of a group of nobles and officials of the T'u-ssu administration a number of the best horses were requisitioned from the Monguor community, equipped with fine saddles and bridles, tassels of red yak hair, and necklaces of small bells. Mounted on these, and escorted by Monguor soldiers, they rode out a long distance beyond the T'u-ssu's village to meet and welcome the official bringing the diploma and seal, who ranked as a delegate from the government at Peking.

At the gate of the T'u-ssu's village or little town a procession was formed. The diploma and seal were displayed on a large silver dish and carried in majesty in a sedan chair, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, standard bearers, and men setting off fire crackers, to the mansion of the T'u-ssu. On the raised platform or porch at the entrance to his mansion the T'u-ssu, surrounded by his oldest nobles, the most distinguished commoners, and all the important guests, knelt to receive the precious diploma and seal presented to him by the delegate. At the command of the master of ceremonies, he clasped his hands and bowed nine times. Kneeling and bowing nine times, the forehead touching the ground each time, is regarded as the homage (*homagium*) or act of fealty of the vassal to his lord.[20]

The newly-invested T'u-ssu then accepted the congratulations of those present and went to the temple of his ancestors, followed by the members of the clan who, ranged in rows according to precedence by generation, joined him in venerating the ancestors, burning incense, kneeling, and bowing, all at the commands of the master of ceremonies. In this way the happy event was announced to the ancestors.

All then went immediately to the other temple within the mansion where the guardian deity (a lamaistic deity) is honored. Again incense was burned and the other ceremonies were performed by the whole group to invoke the protection and blessings of the deity. All then returned to the mansion, in order to take part in the official reception and the presentation of the guests. Each guest offered his congratulations and presented his gifts, consisting usually of inscriptions written by outstanding Chinese calligraphers on silk or satin scrolls, paintings on silk by Chinese artists, or, in recent times, the "western innovation" of small silver shields with engraved inscriptions. The inscriptions convey congratulations, good wishes, or record a commemoration of the happy event.

The nobles of the clan then made their submission to the T'u-ssu, kneeling and bowing nine times, forehead to the ground, at the command of the master of ceremonies, and offering congratulatory scrolls and a sum

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[20] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 130, describes the "act of submission" of a vassal in the Mongol empire founded by Chingis Khan in comparable terms, and notes that in feudal Russia, as among the Mongols (and, he might have added, among the Chinese), the kneeling vassal was required to bow until his forehead touched the ground.

624 of money fixed by old tradition. Following them the
delegates of each village, one after the other, and the
648 officials of the T'u-ssu's own administration went
through the same ceremony. If the mother of the
796 T'u-ssu was still alive, she also received scrolls and a
gift of money from each group.

During this long ceremony the musicians played and firecrackers were set off. A banquet then began, following the Chinese protocol with presentation of cups and chopsticks to the guests. During the banquet a Chinese theatrical troupe played selected acts from traditional Chinese plays or operas; it was a special courtesy to ask a guest to select something from the repertory. Songs were also sung—usually Tibetan, not Monguor songs—by the best Monguor singers. Banquets were held in the afternoon for three or four days running, attended by three or four hundred guests. These banquets were preceded in the morning by the traditional Mongol sports of horse racing and wrestling.

When, at the end of the celebrations, the delegate who brought the diploma and seal returned to Lanchou or to Peking, he was presented with a couple of fine mules and one of the best and fastest horses in the country, together with a substantial gift of money. His attendants were also given presents according to their rank. These presents were called "The money of the sweat of the horses." [21]

The investiture and festival were an expensive burden on the whole clan and on the T'u-ssu personally. As an example, in the small clan of Chao, consisting of only 140 families, most of them poor, the young man who succeeded to the title of T'u-ssu inherited from his father, an opium addict and gambler, only a burden of insoluble debts, in addition to the old tradition of a glorious past. The funds of the family being depleted, and the subjects not being able to afford the expenses of the investiture, the young heir lost his appointment and his privileges, and his people became ordinary Chinese subjects, bound thenceforth to pay their taxes directly to the Chinese administration. But since in China it is always possible to reach a compromise, the young T'u-ssu, though not invested with official rank, was allowed to collect the taxes from his former subjects on behalf of the Chinese administration, and thus he was still able to make a living.

Throughout the Orient the seal is regarded with a special veneration. It may indeed be said to be the subject of a special cult. An emperor who lost his seal would certainly lose his empire. The loss of the imperial seal has always been considered by the Chinese

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[21] To put the servants of the Son of Heaven to trouble was to "cause the horses to sweat." Thus Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 26, notes that, in an inscription, an ancestor is praised because he advised his Uighur ruler to submit to Chingis. " . . . by submitting gracefully without causing the men of the Suu-tu ("fortunate") Chinggis qaɣan to suffer and without causing his geldings to sweat. . . . "—O. L.

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historians as a sign that "heaven" removes its mandate from the emperor. When the imperial seal of the T'ang was lost and came into the hands of the King of Chin in 936, the fact was thus explained. In China, under the old order, the seals of officials were always entrusted to their wives, who kept them with their jewelry and asked from their husbands a small sum each time that the seal was taken out to be stamped on an official document. The accumulation of these small sums constituted the savings of the wives of officials. The Monguors took over this custom from the Chinese.

In 1908, three years before the end of the Manchu empire, the T'u-ssu of the Li clan (of Shat'o origin) lost two thousand dollars at gambling. Having no money to pay his debt, harassed day and night by his creditors, he placed his seal of office in their hands as security. This T'u-ssu was the son of the deceased first wife of his father. He had a half-brother whose mother was the second wife of the previous T'u-ssu. This woman paid the gambling debt and thus got possession of the seal, charging a small sum every time that she produced it for the stamping of a document. When she died, her son got possession of the seal, and used it as authority to collect the regular traditional contributions that are expected from the subjects of the clan to pay for the funeral of the wife of a T'u-ssu. By doing this he strengthened his position, because in China, according to classical principles, the person who conducts the funeral is considered to be the lawful heir. Having in this way created the precedent of actually exercising a degree of authority over the subjects of the clan, and having the seal in his possession, it was his intention to make an accusation against his half-brother, on the grounds of misconduct, and to have himself installed as T'u-ssu.

To forestall this move, the gambling T'u-ssu called together the elders of the clan, both noble and non-noble, and also invited three neighboring T'u-ssu to arbitrate the quarrel and get him out of his appalling situation. The meetings went on for many days. The T'u-ssu was bitterly reproached, humiliated, and dressed down. He had to ask pardon for having transgressed the limits of official convention, thus dishonoring his ancestors and his clan. All this time his half-brother, fortified by actual possession of the seal, stoutly defended his right to become T'u-ssu.

The meeting finally came to the decision that the half-brother should give back the seal to the senior brother, but that in compensation he should be allowed to collect the taxes from four villages subject to his brother, and that his descendants should enjoy this privilege in perpetuity. This drastic solution is to be explained only by the old Oriental belief that the man who is in possession of the seal comes into possession also of the powers, rights, and privileges invested in the seal.

624 648 796 The "locking" and "opening" of the seal emphasized its ritual importance. Every year, as the year drew to an end, on an auspicious day chosen about the twentieth of the twelfth month, it used to be the custom to "lock up" the seals of all Chinese officials. This signified that the officials were taking a vacation and that administrative matters would not be acted on again until after the New Year. The Monguors took over this practice. At the "locking up" of the seal, they invited their officials for dinner, and then all went home.

Soon after the fifteenth of the first moon, an auspicious day was chosen for the "opening of the seal." All officials under the T'u-ssu were required to attend the ceremony, together with the chiefs of villages and the most prominent members of the clan. Disposed in rows, they made the ceremonial prostration nine times before the seal and went to the ancestral temple and the temple of the guardian deity to honor them and to invoke their protection during the new year. An important meeting then followed at which administrative matters were discussed, and this meeting was in turn followed by a dinner. Ordinary routine was then resumed. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, as described by Father Mostaert,[22] a still great reverence is attached to the seal. It is treated as a cult object held in veneration throughout the year, locked in a special ornamented case in the palace of the prince of the Banner, with a lamp burning before it day and night. The opening of the seal is carried out in a more ceremonial manner than among the Monguors. A traditional speech is given by one of the most distinguished officials before the ceremony of veneration is carried out by those present.

ROLE OF CLAN CHIEF AS CHINESE OFFICIAL

WARDEN OF THE MARCHES

175 As a vassal of the overlord state in China, the T'u-ssu has the function of a warden of the marches. When the Mongol dynasty fell in 1368, it was already rotten at the core and torn apart by struggles between internal factions. Knowing that all hope for the restoration of a Mongol dynasty was lost, most of the chiefs of Mongol tribes living in Kansu submitted to the Chinese generals who led the Ming armies into this strategic province bordering on Tibet, Central Asia, and Mongolia. The Chinese, for their part, resorted to the policy, familiar to them for some two thousand years, of using barbarian vassals along the frontier as a screen against more remote barbarians.[23] They accordingly granted titles to the chiefs of the tribes that submitted, in order to make use of them in defense against the still hostile

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[22] A. Mostaert. "L'ouverture du sceau" et les adresses chez les Ordos. *Monumenta Serica* 1. Fasc. 2: 315, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1935.

[23] The relationship between "inner frontier" and "outer frontier" has been described by Owen Lattimore. *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 86, 238–251, 2nd ed., New York, American Geog. Soc., 1951.

Mongol and Tibetan tribes on the northern, western, and southern borders of Kansu.

The most important chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu at this time were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were scions of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shat'o Turks. These three had been among the highest officials in Hsining under the Mongol dynasty. Because of their local influence, backed by troops of their powerful clans, they were delegated to negotiate with neighboring Mongol and Tibetan tribes, still hostile to the new rulers of China, with whom they had friendly relations, to urge them to submit to the Ming dynasty. Most of the chiefs of the region submitted. Those who held out were subjected in campaigns carried out either by Monguor troops alone or by Monguor and Chinese troops working together. The *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 10–12) record sixteen successful campaigns of this kind in the first years of the dynasty.

From this time on the Monguors remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and then under the Manchu dynasty. A number of T'u-ssu fell in battle against invading Mongols and Tibetans, and Monguor troops fought as far afield as Sinkiang in Central Asia, Tat'ung on the Inner Mongolian frontier of Shansi Province, and Yülin on the frontier between Shensi Province and the Ordos. The military system of the T'u-ssu vassals was geographically based on control of the passes on the routes of trade and possible invasion in the mountainous frontier country. Most Tibetan and Mongol forays threatening the region that is now the province of Ch'inghai were launched from the south and southwest. In order to reach the city of Hsining, these invaders had to cross the passes of the mountain range called Lachi Shan, which runs almost parallel with the upper Yellow River and is the watershed between the Yellow River and the Hsining River. The two powerful clans of Ch'i (800 families) and Li (963 families) were, therefore, settled at the approaches to these passes. To them were added the 150 families of the Na clan. In time of peace they farmed and herded cattle. Whenever there was a raid they mobilized to fight the invaders. All through the year a few soldiers were kept on duty to watch the passes. There were 69 villages of these three clans along this part of the frontier (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 36*b*, 37, 40). In the dangerous valley to the north of Hsining the two vulnerable passes of Lungku and Yenwangku were guarded by the T'u-ssu of the Ch'eng clan, with 120 families living in seven villages near the pass (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 37). In the valley west of Hsining there were two dangerous passes, Haitzeku and Paitiehku, which were guarded by the Wang and Chi T'u-ssu with 220 families (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 42*a–b*). Where the celebrated Chinese general, Ho Ch'ü-ping, had settled the oldest colonies of which there is any record, in 116 B.C., the T'u-ssu of the Li

175 clan with his four thousand families were stationed to guard the mountain passes between the Yellow River and the Hsining River, with the T'u-ssu of the Ah clan and his 150 families to the east of them (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48*a*–50*b*). On the southern side, between the mountains and the Yellow River there were six T'u-ssu, those of the Wang, Chou, Yeh, Li Hua-nao, Hsin, and La clans, with a total of 632 families, guarding several passes and the boat ferry across the Yellow River (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*a*, 52–54, 57). In the mountains on the north of Nienpei the Ch'i and Chao T'u-ssu with a total of 820 families guarded four important passes (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 46*b*, 49*b*).

The country thus described forms a strategic triangle between P'ingfan, Lanchou, and Nienpei which is the key to the frontier between Kansu province and the Mongolian plateau, through the natural depression which separated the Nan Shan from the Yin Shan. Its importance was recognized as early as the first Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 8), when the Chinese occupied it in order to prevent the Hsiungnu in Mongolia, the ancestors of the Huns, from joining hands with the Ch'iang or early Tibetan tribes in Kansu. During the Ming dynasty, Mongol tribes from Alashan and the Ordos, invading Tibet by way of Kukunor, usually forced their passage through this country. Because the ancestors of the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan had already settled in this country under the Mongol dynasty, the Ming dynasty assigned it to the Lu clan, which with its 3,245 families became the guardian of the eight passes in the mountain range called Chitzeshan and the ferry passage across the important Tat'ung River. Their villages were scattered throughout this territory (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 58*a*).

While the Monguors were thus allocated to the valleys leading up to the frontier passes, the Chinese planted colonies of their own people in the vicinity of the main towns. Thus the situation was one in which the Chinese colonies depended for their safety on the loyalty of the Monguors, and the authorities accordingly treated the Monguor T'u-ssu as important people and favored subjects.

GUARDIAN OF THE PEACE IN HIS TERRITORY

6[illegible]4 The T'u-ssu, though a subordinate official of the
Chinese overlord state, was treated as a petty sovereign
175 in his own territory, not to be interfered with by Chinese
648 officials in the administration of his hereditary subjects. Except for capital punishment, the T'u-ssu governed his people according to Monguor custom. His vassal status, however, was shown by the fact that he could be called to account if his administration was unsatisfactory. The T'u-ssu was responsible for maintenance of his own troops, and was expected not only to take the initiative in stopping raids from across the border, but to suppress banditry. He was responsible for the security of the roads passing through his territory and

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624 175 648 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung, in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

651 648 173 624 In connection with this recorded historical incident there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 648 624 701 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay, provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained completely at the expense of their own clans. As compensation, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

651 648 624 701 into the Chinese army. In order to keep up the Monguor military strength, the emperor did not allow subjects of the clan to abandon their T'u-ssu, and the Chinese officials were ordered to help the T'u-ssu in recovering any subjects who had left their territories. The overlord state thus confirmed the clan rule of the Monguors that the subjects of the clan "belonged" to the chief. While in later times Monguors farming land in territory under direct Chinese administration were required to pay the land tax, they were still exempt from the corvee of forced labor.

651 648 624 In the administration of the law, relations between Monguors and Chinese were "extraterritorial." When a Chinese accused a Monguor, the summons had to be sent to the T'u-ssu, who alone could order his subject to appear at the Chinese court. Chinese allowed by a T'u-ssu to settle in his territory became his subjects, liable to Monguor land taxes, military service, and corvees. Monguor lawsuits had to be brought before the T'u-ssu and his officials. If a Monguor did not agree with the verdict of the T'u-ssu, however, he was allowed to appeal to the Chinese high court; but this right was more theoretical than practical, because the Chinese official, considering the T'u-ssu as a fellow-official, and also not unmindful of presents at New Year and at the four seasons, regularly confirmed the verdict of the T'u-ssu.

When Chinese officials, representing the overlord state, traveled through the territory of a T'u-ssu, roads and bridges had to be put in repair. Similarly, when Chinese troops passing through the territory of a T'u-ssu had to cross a river, the Monguors were required to provide the necessary rafts and boats.

TAXES UPON T'U-SSU AND THEIR SALARY

Under the Ming dynasty, except for the "autumn tax" on the Li T'u-ssu, which has already been mentioned, no taxes were imposed on a T'u-ssu. In this respect there was a marked difference between the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of many Tibetan and Mongol tribes who were required to bring every year, or once in a term of years, a fixed tribute of horses or other products of their territories. The difference is accounted for by the fact that a tribute-paying chief and his subjects were not, like a T'u-ssu and his clan, considered to be on permanent military service.

Under the Manchu dynasty, however, the *Annals* of Kansu record that twelve out of the seventeen T'u-ssu were required to pay land tax. The five that were exempt were the five most influential and powerful: the Lu (3,245 families); two Ch'i (800 and 700 families); two Li (4,000 and 960 families), and Wang (150 families). It is possible that these T'u-ssu were exempt from the tax either because of services rendered during the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 or simply because they were powerful and the Chinese were afraid to impose a tax on them for fear they would revolt. The tax im-

651 648 624 posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by the Chinese.

In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.[24]

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

648 624 The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

648 624 431 439 Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who gave him presents and more money toward the expenses of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without

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[24] In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

[p. 51-b]

648 624 435 431 trading and making a little profit. The T'u-ssu and his retinue took with them whatever they thought might sell advantageously in Peking. For the return journey, they bought in Peking everything that they knew would sell profitably in their home country. The profit was greatly increased by the fact that they traveled free of charge and free of the usual transit taxes. Before they left Peking, moreover, the T'u-ssu received valuable gifts from the emperor, including the traditional ceremonial long coat, the yellow robe worn by officials on state occasions, and pieces of silk and brocade. A visit of this kind to the capital enhanced the stature of the T'u-ssu both among his own subjects and among the Chinese officials, because the rich presents that he took with him provided him with friends and protectors among the high officials at court.

648 624 Most of the foregoing information was collected in Liench'eng, the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan of Liench'eng having been among the last of the T'u-ssu who visited the emperor. Two old Monguors of this clan liked to talk about this visit on which their grandfathers or great-grandfathers had accompanied the T'u-ssu to the capital, where they had seen the emperor. According to the family chronicles of the clan, this visit was made in 1829-1830 by the T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsün, fifteenth in descent from the "founding ancestor" of the clan. He left Liench'eng on the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon and arrived at Peking on the nineteenth of the twelfth moon. On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon he was granted an audience with the emperor and from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth he was invited to banquets and theatrical performances.

On the first of the first moon, the new year according to the lunar calendar, he accompanied the high official who carried out the rite of congratulating the emperor at the palace called the T'ai Ho Tien, and partook of a dinner of state. On the evening of the same day he attended the theatrical performance played on the ice of the lake called Ying T'ai in the Forbidden City. On the fifteenth of the first moon he accompanied the high officials who attended the fireworks illumination of the Yuan Ming Yuan palace, and was granted the favor of such gifts as the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and rare foodstuffs. On the nineteenth he presented his thanks to the emperor and asked for leave to depart. He made his farewells to the high officials, left on the twenty-eighth, and completed the long journey back to Liench'eng on the fifth of the fourth moon.

In the same family chronicle there is recorded the visit paid in 1819 by the T'u-ssu Lu Cho to the Emperor Chia Ch'ing on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday at the summer palace of Jehol. This T'u-ssu left Liench'eng on the nineteenth of the fifth moon and arrived in Jehol on the tenth of the eighth moon. On the twelfth, he was received in audience to greet the emperor in the Lion Garden, where he was accorded the favor of receiving slices of venison sprinkled with pepper and

648 624 ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor graciously accepted the T'u-ssu's presents, consisting of two beautiful horses and samples of the products of the Monguor country. The T'u-ssu received a peacock plume with button, a straw hat, a collar of the design worn by officials of the fifth rank, a long coat with an embroidered medallion on the chest and back, and an official robe embroidered with dragons; together with a silk girdle, a purse, a knife to be hung from the girdle, a short and long coat of brocade, some small carpets, a splendid saddle rug, tea, and dried fruit. On the fourteenth, after a banquet and theatrical performance, he received a clock and a snuff-box. On the seventeenth, after another banquet, dinner and theatrical display, he received foodstuffs. On the eighteenth still another banquet and the theater again, and at night fire-works. On the nineteenth he went to offer his thanks to the emperor and received two pieces of brocade, two of silk, six of satin, and a piece of dried venison. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor and left on the twenty-first. (Extracts from the family chronicles of Lu.).

These records give an idea of the pomp of such visits under the empire. The visit to the emperor and the honor of seeing him were the dream of a T'u-ssu and the summit of his glory; and the subjects who accompanied him liked to talk about the splendor of the imperial palace, the majesty of the emperor, and his graciousness toward their chief.

THE COMMONERS

174 Having elucidated the questions of the chiefs of the Monguor clans, their function as clan chiefs, the historical position of the first clan chief, the rules of succession and installation, and having explained the new kind of position that was acquired by becoming a Chinese official, with the title and duty of T'u-ssu, there remain the many fascinating problems of the origin and social evolution of the commoners.

To what original tribes did the commoners of the seventeen Monguor clans belong?

MONGOLS

I frequently inquired among both commoners and nobles about the names of the tribes to which they had belonged in time past, but to no avail. Not a single definite answer could be obtained. But since Potanin and Prjevalsku assert that they heard Monguors say that they were of "Chzhahor," or White Mongol, or Karluk origin, and since Father A. De Smedt heard some rare Monguors say that they were of Karluk origin, it is possible that among the commoners there still exist traceable descendants of these tribes. Failing an established tradition among the people themselves is it possible to trace historically the origin of the commoners given as subjects to the Monguor clan chiefs by the Mongol emperors? The authors of the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province of Kansu,

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who seem to be reliable for dates and other facts, use the Chinese terms "T'u-jen, T'u-min" (aborigines), "Fan-min and Hsi-fan" (Tibetans), and "Mongol" so undiscriminatingly that it is impossible to identify the origin and the race of the commoners, as well of most of the nobles, except for the Ch'i and Lu clan, whose nobles are said to be members of the imperial family of the Yuan; one of the Ch'i clans whose nobles are said to be of Mongol origin; and the nobles of the Li clans, who are said to be of Shat'o origin and descendants of Li K'o-yung. The same confusion is obvious in the Ch'ing *Shih Kao*, Section *Liehchuan*, *T'u-ssu chuan*, VI, whose author seems to have extracted his material from the *Annals*.

Fortunately, more is available in the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u*, Chapter V. According to the introduction, this book was printed in 1751 and was compiled under the auspices of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung who ordered the governors of the provinces in which lived non-Chinese tribes that had submitted to the Manchus to send in reports about these tribes and to help artists, sent from Peking, to draw pictures showing the characteristics and costumes of each tribe. Although the material thus collected is limited, superficial, and reduced in most cases to the simple citation of the names of tribes, without noting the sources of quotations, and frequently includes no more than a vague description of the costumes worn by the tribesmen, it does offer some valuable data. This work, however, like others, confuses the origin both of "aboriginal" tribes and of Tibetans and Mongols. Those who made the report seem not to have cared about the origins of despised barbarians.

SHAT'O, TURKISH ORIGIN

In reading the texts related to our subject, it must be borne in mind that the tradition about the Shat'o origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the *Annals*, that in Chinese histories Shat'o tribes are noted as living between Hsining and Kanchou in 939, and that the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* confirms (or repeats) the data of Chinese history, the *Annals*, and tradition. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

In the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* our subject is twice mentioned:

I. Chapter V, pp. 46–47. The heading of the notice runs: "The tribes of Tungkou vicinity governed by the Tuchihhui Ch'i Hsien-pang of Hsining *hsien*." Two figures are represented, of a man and a woman, described as "Tibetans" (*Fan*).

> The Tibetans [*Fan min*] of the eight tribes of Tungkou and vicinity, descendants of the Western Ch'iang, living 70 *li* and more from Hsining *hsien*, at the time of the Yuan dynasty were governed by Chi Kungk'ohsingchi, who held the incumbency of Li-wen [legal secretary]. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty he received the title of Chihhui Chihshih and governed the Tibetans. The Ch'ing dynasty recognized the former incumbency. . . . The Ti-

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> betans of the twelve Paitieh tribes and others governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Li Ch'eng-t'ang, by the Chienshih Natsai, Chi Ying-k'ui, all use the same kind of clothes and adornments.

II. Chapter V, p. 55. The heading of the notice runs: "The tribes of Tungkou and other places governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Li Kuo-tung of Nienpei." Two figures are represented, described as "T'u people" (*T'u min*, "natives").

> The Chihhui t'ungchih of Nienpei, Li Kuo-tung, is a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung of the T'ang dynasty. At the time of the Yuan dynasty Li Nan-ko held the incumbency of T'ungchih of Hsining *chou;* for generations they [the Li family] protected the western country; during the Ming dynasty, conducting his people, he submitted and received the office of Chihhui, t'ungchih. The Ch'ing dynasty, because of his merits in summoning to submission Tibetan tribes and T'u people [natives], confirmed him [Li Kuo-tung] in his hereditary incumbency. The big village of Tungkou which he governed and the Hula tribes of T'u ["native"] stock which the Peihou Li Kuo-ting governed are the tribes they originally governed. . . . The tribes of T'u stock, Luerhchia and others, which are governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Ah Cheng and Chao Wei-sung, the Chienchih Yeh Sun-yang, Kan Lin-chih, and Chu Sun-lin are in the main similar in customs, clothes and adornments.

In these two passages are mentioned the names of twelve Paitieh tribes who are called Tibetans, and of tribes named Hula and Luerhchia, described simply as "natives." All three tribal names are certainly not Chinese.

The Hula are probably of Turkish stock. Hola has been noted as a Turkish tribal name,[25] and the difference between Hula and Hola need not be significant, as the names of barbarian tribes are transcribed in Chinese in widely differing forms. Were these Turkish tribes who joined the Shat'o when the Shat'o were founding the Later T'ang dynasty in the tenth century, and did small groups of them take refuge in the Hsining country on the fall of that dynasty? Nothing is said about the time or circumstances of the Hula joining the Shat'o tribes. All that we know for sure is that the Monguors who are subjects of the Li T'u-ssu are of Shat'o Turkish stock, that Hola has been noted as a Turkish name, and that people whose name is rendered by the Chinese in the very similar form of Hula are described as subjects of the Li T'u-ssu. To this may be added the fact that the illustrations of the Chinese text under discussion show the people described as "natives" and those described as "Tibetans" as different from each other.

I have not been able to find any reference to the Luerhchia. Since the Luerhchia and the Hula are the only tribes described in the passage under discussion as T'u rather than Tibetan, and since reasons have been given for believing that the Hula may be of Turkish derivation, it may be also that the Luerhchia should be taken as a group of Turkish stock, subjects of various Monguor

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[25] P. A. Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, in *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 305, n. 77, 1936.

[P.53-b]

T'u-ssu. The group must have been large, because its members are said to be subjects in many clans.[26]

As for the twelve Paitieh tribes, described as *Fan* or Tibetans, I have not been able to trace their name among either Tibetan, Turkish, or Mongol tribes. An interesting fact, however, is that in the tax registers these tribes are listed with the first character of the Chinese transcription reading *Chich*, so as to give a tribal name of Chiehtieh rather than Paitieh. Yet the Monguors use the pronunciation, Paitjeh; the village where the Chi T'u-ssu lives is called Paitiehchuang, "Paitieh village," and the name of the valley, which it was the frontier duty of the Chi T'u-ssu to defend, is also Paitieh. Father A. Mostaert calls my attention to the fact that the character *chich* should according to Pelliot be read *pai* and not *chich*, as in the dictionaries.[27] It is remarkable that the Monguors should have preserved the correct pronunciation.[28]

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[26] Father Hermanns, in a book received in this country after Father Schram had completed his work (Matthias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 29, Vienna, Herold, 1949) in a list of nomad tribes in the region near the Monguor territory, has the two names Ra gya- and Hor- (the hyphens indicating that they are used in compounding tribal names), in immediate juxtaposition. The appearance of these names, reinforced by the fact that they are in juxtaposition, strongly suggests that they underlie not only the Chinese transcriptions, Luerhchja and Hula, but two transcriptions cited by Father Schram above (pp. 15, 17) which may be held to combine Luerhchia and Hula > Dschiahour, from Huc and Gabet, and Chzhahor, from Potanin, with the explanation that it is a Tibetan name for the Mongols, from Cha = "Chinese" and Hor = "the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet." Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, previously cited, p. 44, supports Potanin, giving Jya [= Rgya] as "China," and Jya Hor as "the Tibetans along the Kansu [i.e., Chinese] border."

For Luerhchia as a Chinese transcription of Tibetan Rgya (Ra gya—in Hermanns, as above), the initial *L* may seem somewhat unexpected, in view of the tendency of vernacular Chinese to put a vowel in front of an initial *r* in foreign words, so that "Erhchia" might seem more probable than "Luerhchia" as an "unscientific" rendering of Rgya. For the rendering of an initial *r* by an initial *l*, however, see *Losh'a*, for Rossiya, which the Chinese used until, influenced by the Mongol pronunciation Oros, they adopted Êlossu as the Chinese form of "Russia, the Russians."

As for Hor = Hula, Laufer many years ago identified Hor as a Tibetan name for "Turks" (B. Laufer, Was Odoric of Pordenone ever in Tibet? *T'oung Pao* 15: 411, 1914). It would seem that Hor (and Hula as a transcription of Hor) must reflect the same original non-Chinese word or name as *Hu*, one of the most ancient Chinese names for "northern barbarians."

To sum up: this complicated nomenclature results from processes as the result of which, at varying times, groups of frontier Chinese absorbed among the Tibetans could be known "tribally" as Rgya; Hor tribesmen, possibly or probably of Turkish or mixed Turkish derivation, could adhere to Monguor clans; and a term like Rgya-Hor, with a meaning translateable approximately as "Altaic-speaking Chinese" (i.e., "people who speak neither Tibetan nor Chinese, but administratively are identified with China rather than Tibet"), could be used by frontiersmen in an attempt to describe the Monguors to French and Russian travelers at the end of the nineteenth century.—O. L.

[27] P. Pelliot, Les caractères de transcription *wo* ou *wa* et *pai*, *T'oung Pao* 37: 125–134, 1944.

[28] It should be pointed out that there is a possibility that Paitieh is from Bait (Bayit, Bayid, "Wealthy"), an established Mon-

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The suggestion has been made that still another tribal name for people under the rule of the Li T'u-ssu may be concealed under the place name, Tungkou. The written form is unmistakably the Chinese for "Eastern Valley." Rockhill, however, suggested that *-kou* might stand for the first syllable of the name of the Karluk Turks, so that "Eastern *kou*" might stand for "Eastern Kar[luk]."[29] That *-kou* might be related to Kololu or Hololu, two Chinese renderings of the name of the Karluk Turks, seems doubtful, especially as there is no other mention of "Eastern" Karluks. On the other hand Tungkou, "Eastern Valley," is natural in the context, where we find "tribes of the Eastern Valley and adjacent places" and "Tibetans of the eight tribes of the Eastern Valley and vicinity" in the Chinese source that has been quoted above.

That among the subjects of Turkish descent of the Li T'u-ssu and other clans there were Karluks is not impossible, however, and perhaps probable, because travelers and Father De Smedt have heard Monguors say that they were of Karluk stock; but the Chinese text here cited does not mention the fact, and the author says explicitly that the eight tribes of the Eastern Valley are Fan min or Tibetans, descendants of the Western Ch'iang. When this author mentions the Luerhchia, the Hula, and the twelve Paitieh tribes he writes out his versions of their names in full. If he had thought that Tungkou meant "Eastern Karluks," one would expect him to have written it out also in full, as "Tung Kololu" or "Tung Hololu." All of these considerations seem to point to "Eastern Valley" and not "Eastern Karluks" as the meaning of Tungkou.

In conclusion, it seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in Monguor clans are Turks, but not Shat'o Turks, by descent, and that in this context the author of the Chinese text cited means tribes of Turkish descent when he writes of T'u "natives." It will be seen later that the author of this text does not confuse either Mongols or Tibetans with T'u.

These tentative conclusions suggest that there is an important problem yet to be solved. Fathers A. Mostaert and A. De Smedt, authors of the *Dictionnaire Monguor-Français* which has been frequently cited in these pages, and of scholarly studies of the phonetics and morphology of the Monguor language, have established the fact that it is an archaic Mongol dialect with, at present, few Turkish elements. How is it possible that these tribes, if they were in fact largely Turkish to begin with, lost their original idiom to such an extent? Father Mostaert finds a language change of this kind not unusual. Indeed, who can prove at what time these tribes lost their language? Could they not already

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gol tribal name; or it may reflect a Mongol (or Turkish) name, Baitik; *cf.* Baitik (or Baitak) Bogda, "the Holy Baitik [mountains]" between Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang. I have not been able to discover the meaning of this name.—O. L.

[29] Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, as cited, 43.

174 have lost their old language before they appeared on the frontiers of Kansu? Further, the impact of the Mongol culture in Asia is generally underestimated; the appeal of the Mongol culture to the nomadic tribes in the thirteenth century in fact was overwhelming, and Mongol was then the language of the rulers of Central Asia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Many tribes of Turkish origin exchanged their language for the different but closely related Mongol language. This assumption is evidenced by the fact that among the Mongols of today are encountered many names of clans of Turkish origin. Whole groups, such as the Onguts of the Yin Shan who were of the same Shat'o origin as the Monguors, and had fled together with them to China in A.D. 808, became Mongols, speaking only Mongol. The descendants of the Nestorians of the Ordos, who were probably of Turkish stock, are today thorough Mongols.

On page 57 of the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* is the last note related to the subject of the Monguors:

> The Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei is a descendant of Mongols of the Yuan period, but he does not belong to the imperial family. . . . The 20 tribes he governs in the locality called Tatzewan are the tribes he originally governed.

The names of these tribes are not given, however. These tribes were certainly Mongols, as is indicated by the place name Tatzewan. "Ta-tze," originally the Chinese transcription of "Tatar," is to this day commonly used in Chinese instead of "Mongol," especially in the frontier regions, and often with a condescending or belittling connotation. *Wan* is a "bend" in a valley; hence Tatzewan is "Tatar Bend" or "Mongol Bend." Concerning these Monguors the Chinese author notes that their houses, food, and customs are similar to those of the neighboring people, by whom the Chinese are meant, as the context indicates, as are their customs connected with marriages and funerals, and then goes on to state that they also observe many Tibetan customs. He thus seems to make a clear distinction between these Monguor commoners and those ruled by the various T'u-ssu whom he has previously mentioned, and this distinction seems to strengthen the hypothesis of a difference of origin between these two groups of commoners. These are the only sources available for solving the problem of the ethnic origin of the Monguor commoners. A majority of Turkish element is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by T'u-ssu.

CHINESE

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177 In the seventeen Monguor and Shat'o clans, in addition to the original stock who came with their chiefs from Mongolia to settle as wardens of the marches, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned above, there were also Chinese and Tibetan families who enrolled in these clans during the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier. There are no records of the earliest enrollment of Chinese, but it does not seem likely that "many" Chinese were enrolled before

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175 177 the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1368, because the census recorded in the *Annals* for 1573–1620, which has already been cited, notes only 440 Chinese civilians in the Hsining region.

It has also been pointed out that for nearly a century and a half at the end of the Ming dynasty, and most of a century at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty between 1509 and 1723, the country never enjoyed real peace for long at a time, because of intermittent Mongol and Tibetan forays and revolts, and that only after 1723 did agriculture begin to develop and the region to flourish. From then on it may be assumed that many Chinese immigrated and settled in the country, engaging in both farming and commerce.

The Chinese have always looked down on the Monguors and Shat'o with real contempt, as barbarians. I have often heard the story, well known over the Monguor country, of the enrollment of the first two Chinese in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu. This was during the Yung-lo period, 1403–1424, when two young Chinese soldiers deserted from the military colony of Hsining, fled to the Narin valley in autumn and worked for Shat'o farmers in the fields. These two boys came from Nanking and were named Pen and Pei. They married Shat'o girls, remained in Narin,[80] and enrolled in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, where their numerous descendants are still living and well acquainted with the story of their ancestors. Even after five centuries the whole group kneel together facing in the direction of Nanking on the last day of the twelfth moon and burn paper and incense sticks to honor them. On the day of the general veneration of ancestors, in April, they again burn paper and incense, first for their old ancestors in Nanking and then for their more recent ancestors.

It was probably similar stray Chinese without families who enrolled in Monguor clans during the period from 1368 to 1723. Later, in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who enrolled in the clans. The most numerous enrollments were after the disastrous intermittent Muslim rebellions, when many Chinese lost all their wealth, families were broken up, and individuals fled to the Monguors to begin life anew.

After the great rebellion of the Muslims between 1868 and 1875, the whole province of Kansu was ruined. The population was reduced from seventeen million to eleven million. The impoverished T'u-ssu, wanting to revive their revenues, were eager to allow poor Chinese to settle in their territories. The Chinese came in as refugees in the most pitiable condition. They began by working for Monguor farmers. Then the men married Monguor girls and were glad to become owners of land, which was less expensive than in the country under direct Chinese administration. They were well aware of the lighter Monguor taxes and corvées, and as they be-

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[80] This place name is from Monguor *narin guor* (Mongol *narin goul* or *narin gol*), "narrow valley." See De Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*, as cited, 125.—O. L.

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175 177 came accustomed to Monguor life they willingly became subjects of the T'u-ssu, assuming the obligations and duties imposed on commoners. These Chinese did not drop their surnames to adopt that of the T'u-ssu, and are, therefore, different in surname from the rest of the clan; but they mingled with the Monguors, living in the same hamlets and villages. There are very few hamlets in which only Chinese live. Very few of them adopted the Monguor dress, and few learned the language. Some of the formerly poor Chinese, growing wealthy, have become outstanding people in the clan, pushing themselves forward and getting jobs in the T'u-ssu administration, where the pattern was the same as that of China, with all its assets and drawbacks and squeeze and bribery.

While the Monguors have absorbed or partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture to be lower than that of the Chinese. Many of them are ashamed of their "barbarian" origin, repudiate their Monguor or Shat'o descent, and claim to be of Chinese origin; they dress like Chinese and speak only Chinese.

It is not easy to give even an approximate figure for the number of Chinese enrolled in Monguor clans, partly because so many Shat'o and Monguors claim to be of Chinese extraction. For that reason it is possible that the number of regularly enrolled Chinese families is not as large as it seems to be. In every clan, however, real Chinese are numerous. The general rule seems to be that they are descended from individuals and single families, not from groups which joined the Monguors in considerable numbers at any one time. However, a large group of Chinese bearing the surname of Pao lives in Pient'an and is enrolled in the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu.

175 177 551 Professor Lattimore draws my attention to the fact that Chinese with the clan name of Pao (which may be written in several different ways) frequently if not usually claim to be descended from the Mongol imperial clan of Borjigid. This suggestion raises problems in connection with Monguors who use the name of Pao. On the one hand, this group is often referred to in ordinary speech as "Yuan Pao," which might be held to suggest "Pao of the Yuan [dynasty]," and hence descent from the Borjigid clan. On the other hand, there is no written record that identifies the Pao as "Yuan" Pao. On the contrary, the Pao families under the Lu T'u-ssu are listed as commoners, and as such have to pay taxes and are subject to corvée and military service; whereas the Lu T'u-ssu and his noble relatives claim descent from the imperial clan of the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty through Kölgen, son of the celebrated favorite of Chingis Khan, Kulan. If, therefore, the Pao families were really of Mongol descent, how could they have become commoners under a T'u-ssu also descended from the imperial family?[31]

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[31] Pao is also used by Mongols descended from Khabtu Hasar, brother of Chingis Khan. The possibility should, therefore, be

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175 177 551 Father A. Mostaert tells me that Taiji (i.e. descendants of the imperial line of Chingis Khan) of the Otok Banner of the Ordos Mongols, when they have much to do with the Chinese and need to use a clan name in the Chinese style, take the name of Pao, from the first syllable of Borjigid. The Taiji of the Ushin Banner of the Ordos Mongols, however, prefer to take as a Chinese clan name Ch'i, from the first syllable of Kiyut (Kiyat), which is well known as the sept or subdivision of the clan of Borjigid to which belonged Yesugei, father of Chingis Khan.[82] Possibly the explanation may be that among the Monguors noble families with the name of Ch'i descend from Chingis Khan, while families of commoners with the name of Pao have only a vaguer, undocumented claim to descent from the larger Borjigid clan of which the sept of Kiyut (Kiyat) was a particular line.

In this connection it is worth noting that, among all the seventeen Monguor clans, the general rule is that the use of a Chinese surname begins only with the third or fourth generation from the founding ancestor, with the exception of the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where the Chinese form Ch'i is found from the very beginning, with the supporting statement, in both the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu that the Ch'i line was descended from the line of Chingis Khan.

175 551 The clan name of the Lu T'u-ssu is also of special interest. This line expressly claims Mongol imperial descent, yet its Chinese clan name is neither Pao nor Ch'i. The explanation is provided in the family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu. In 1410 a Chinese army suffered a disastrous defeat on the river Kerulen, in Outer Mongolia, and among those who perished was the son and successor of the founding ancestor of the Lu line, who as a frontier feudatory had been summoned to take part in the Chinese expedition into Outer Mongolia.

To erase the memory of this disaster the Ming ordered that the Chinese name for the Kerulen River be changed from Luch'ü to Yinma.[83] At this point the family chronicles of the Lu clan (which, as already mentioned above, I am now preparing for publication) chime in with official history. In these records, the biography of the third T'u-ssu of the line, son of the T'u-ssu who died in battle on the Kerulen River, says that in 1414 he was ordered with his troops from Kansu to Hsüanhuafu, on the frontier between North China and Inner Mongolia, and that in a battle on the river Kant'an he made prisoner a Mongol general.

The emperor then said: In former times Tan, duke of Chu, made a punitive expedition into the region of Yenhsi. The King of Ch'eng gave him, as appanage, the

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taken into account that in the Monguor usage lineal descendants of Chingis Khan, if they used the clan name Pao, were distinguished as "imperial" Pao, while collateral descendants were considered commoners.—O. L.

[82] The Mongol terms are *omog (obog)* for the main clan, and *yasu(n)* or "bone" for the sept or subdivision.—O. L.

[83] Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols,* as cited, 28.

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175 country of Lu. Your family submitted [to the Ming
551 dynasty] long ago, and has fought bravely in many expeditions in far-off regions; your glorious achievements may be compared with those of the duke of Chu, and I therefore bestow on you the name of Lu. From that time, says the chronicle, the line [that is now] Lu changed its clan name to Lu. Unfortunately, however, the chronicle does not say whether the clan name was previously Pao or Ch'i.

There remains to be mentioned the use of double names called in Chinese "*fu hsing*," borne by a very few Monguor families. I noted only 5 such names: Ho-Li chia, Pao-Ma chia, Chang-Li chia, Yuan-Pao chia. The *Pai chia hsing* the traditional list of Chinese clan or family names, records 408 single and 30 double names, and the few double names encountered among the Monguors are not included among the 30. What may account for the Monguor double names has always been a mystery to me. I was never able to determine whether the few families of commoners bearing these names were genuine Chinese, or sinicized Monguors, or Tibetans.

TIBETANS

563 In addition to the Chinese there are in some clans
177 large numbers of Tibetans but they appear to have joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese.

In the Li clan there are 20 Tibetan families living in the Narin valley and 60 families, still wearing Tibetan dress but speaking Monguor, in Hsiatsantze ("Lower station"). These 80 families are scattered remnants of the Tibetan K'eelurk tribe. In Tseilin[34] valley lives a group of 40 Tibetan families, and another group in Shuimokou ("Water-mill valley") of more than 100 Tibetan families who speak Monguor, but still dress in the Tibetan fashion, who once belonged to the famous Yang T'u-ssu of Choni monastery in T'aochou prefecture. They adopted the name Li.

In the Ch'i clan there are 32 Tibetan families speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, in Tungtsantze ("Eastern station"). They belonged originally to the two Tibetan tribes of Kairtsen and Nguertsa. In Chungtsantze ("Central station") are 40 Tibetan families also speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, who formerly belonged to the tribes of Mach'i and Ch'iaok'o.

In the clan of the Wang T'u-ssu there are 18 Tibetan families.

In the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu there are 453 Tibetan families, scattered in 13 villages numbering 2,365 persons. For this big group, there are historical data. They are descended from families granted to the T'u-ssu by the emperor as a reward for his strong support in

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[34] This place name, especially as the second syllable is written with the Chinese character for "grove, wood," may be a Chinese form from Monguor *dziari*, given in the *Dictionnaire*, as cited above, as "bois sacre," with a suggested possible further derivation from Tibetan *t'sal* "bois."—O. L.

[P. 57a]

563 the suppression of the big Mongol and Tibetan frontier revolt in 1723.

177 As for these large groups, it is to be noted that they are enrolled in two of the most outstanding clans, the Li and the Ch'i. The Ch'i clan descends from the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan has always been the strongest of all the Monguor clans.
173 Under the Mongol dynasty members of this clan held
177 the most important administrative posts in Hsining. A tradition runs in these clans that the Tibetans enrolled
563 on their lists were already living in the country under the Mongol dynasty and at that time had already separated from their original tribes and submitted to the ancestors of the Li and Ch'i clans. This tradition seems quite credible. More is not known about these Tibetans, and nothing about the 18 families under the Wang T'u-ssu. Besides these groups of Tibetans, many single Tibetan families enrolled at different times in most of the clans and live scattered among the Monguors.

177 Owing to the enrollment of Tibetans and to marriages between Monguors and Tibetans there are in Monguor social life many practices proper to the matriarchal family system. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese, many Monguors have lost their own language, repudiated their Monguor origin, and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook.

When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors. They were no longer under the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials in respect to taxes or military service. On the other hand they could not renounce their allegiance to the T'u-ssu, or leave his territory without his permission.

The question whether there are still other "Monguor" clans in other parts of Kansu may be answered as follows: the clans called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsining region are the only seventeen clans that constitute the subject of the present study. It is known that at the time these clans submitted to the Ming dynasty and their chiefs were made T'u-ssu, other groups of Mongols lived in the southeastern part of Kansu, in the regions of Titao, Hochou, and Minchou. Their chiefs, like those of the Monguors, were made T'u-ssu, had territories assigned to them, and acted as "wardens of the marches" (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 12, *passim*). They did not, however, form part of the same community as the Monguors. The chiefs and nobles of one of these groups, living east of Hochou, claim to be descendants of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty (*Annals, ibid.*). They became Muslims, and speak a language akin to Mongol.[35] Another group, also near Hochou, are called Sant'a [36] or "Muslims"; they became Muslims during the Ch'ien Lung period (1736-1796), in order to save their lives at a time when the region was dominated by rebellious Muslims. The famous Muslim gen-

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[35] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuangk'uang*, 200-202.

[36] From the Chinese transcription of "Sart."—O. L.

177 erals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung [87] Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

624 Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as "subjects" of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles, but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same "bone" as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that "nomads" are concerned only
175 with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted—often with astonishment—the
311 wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and
41 crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have

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[87] Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O. L.

311 been nomads who already knew something about farming.[38]

175 241 The historical picture, which includes traces of ancient irrigation before the settling of the Monguors, and new Chinese agricultural colonies introduced under the Ming, indicates that the Monguors increasingly adapted themselves to an environment in which farming was possible and profitable. It is possible that with the growth of population there was no longer room for a preponderantly pastoral economy, and possible also that constant border warfare resulted in severe losses of cattle. Whatever the reason for the shift from pastoralism to agriculture, however, it brought with it important social problems, because the economic system of a people determines the rules under which property is held.

311 241 The nomad economy is extensive, and requires room for migration between winter and summer pasture. Farming—even non-irrigated farming—is intensive compared with pastoralism, and brings with it a shift of values from the wide, windswept pastures to the small, sheltered, cultivable plot of land.[39]

The farmer's year of toil is centered on a definite piece of land. If he is a free farmer and not a mere serf, his property interest is identified with that land, and with his right to dispose of it by sale or legacy. This interest is different in kind from that of the nomad in mobile livestock. We may, therefore, well expect changes in the social psychology of the Monguors to accompany the shift from a predominance of pastoralism to a predominance of agriculture, even though the Monguors never became as exclusively agricultural as the Chinese.

423 In the Monguor society there is an adaptation between the principle of the absolute ownership of the territory by the T'ussu and the principle of private property among members of the clan. The principle of the T'ussu's absolute ownership being recognized by the over-

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[38] L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols, des origines à 1405*, 49–50, Paris, 1896, sums up the matter in the words: "It is possible that there may have existed nomads limiting themselves exclusively to meat, milk, and the wool of their herds; but no such nomads have ever been known in historical times." Owen Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, *Geographical Jour.*, London, Jan. 1936, writes (p. 5) that "the history of the steppe peoples is not independent of the history of agricultural communities," and also draws attention (p. 14) to the agriculture of the Orkhon Turks in Northern Mongolia in the middle ages. He again refers repeatedly to semi-nomads and marginal nomads in his *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951. K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-seng, in *History of Chinese society: Liao*, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **36**: 120–121, 1949, recapitulate the views of a number of writers, but make the mistake of assuming that when William of Rubruck, in the thirteenth century, speaks of "villages in the south" from which Mongol lords drew tribute of millet and flour, he means villages of Mongol farmers. It is clear from the context that the reference is to tributary, sedentary, non-Mongol peoples.

[39] For the "extensive-intensive" range between hunting, steppe pastoralism, rainfall agriculture, and irrigated agriculture, see Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, as cited above, 6.

[P. 58-b]

423 lord state, he has the right to grant fields to monasteries or to personal friends, and the right to sell or mortgage parts of the clan territory to Chinese or to monasteries.[40]

426 As an illustration the Li T'u-ssu, in 1906, being in debt, mortgaged a part of his territory near Weiyuanp'u to the Living Buddha Chang-chia [41] of the Chang-chia monastery, a piece of the Li territory in Hsiaoyangch'uan and another in Shuimokou, with some adjoining 425 forest. Similarly the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei sold a part of his territory to the Chinese of Kaochai in 1908. The Lu T'u-ssu, according to the family chronicles, granted land in Niut'oukou to the father-in-law of his nephew and also to one of his secretaries.

The adaptation between this theoretical absolute ownership and the rights of private property of individual members of the clan is effected through an interesting convention: the T'u-ssu never "sells" the soil to farmers; he writes a contract under which he accepts the price of the fields, just as a seller does, but in the contract the word "pass" is used instead of the word "sell." Thus he "passes" his land to be used by the farmer and his heirs in perpetuity, and endows him with the right to "pass" it over to other members of the clan. Under this convention the T'u-ssu, by accepting the price of the land, pledges that he will not interfere with the use or disposal of it.

All interests are thus reconciled and the required stability achieved. The farmer becomes a quasi owner, with all the rights of a real owner. The T'u-ssu gets the selling price of his land but continues to be recognized as the "owner" by the overlord state, and the farmers living in "his" territory remain bound to him, remain his subjects, and liable as such to corvées, to military service, and to taxes.

Often, however, I have heard the Monguors say, heaving a deep sigh, that now-a-days their T'u-ssu love money too much;

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[40] J. Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, 13, Paris, éditions Dillen, 1932, notes that in the Ordos the territory belongs to the tribe but the prince may dispose of it in order to grant a domain to one or another of his subjects, usually an important official. The territory of the tribe may not be sold, but may be rented to Chinese for farming for a time so long that it is practically equivalent to sale.

[41] The Chang-chia (lCan-skya) Hutukhtu is one of the most important Lama Buddhist "incarnations." In the eighteenth century, in the reign of the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien Lung, the incumbent of this incarnation played an important part in the translation into Mongol of Tibetan religious literature, thus furthering the Manchu policy of diverting the attention of the Mongols away from the past and toward the acceptance of religious control. See W. Heissig, *Bolur Erike*, *Monumenta Serica*, Monograph 10, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1946, especially pp. 28–30. For this reason the incarnations of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu or Living Buddha were thereafter especially favored by the Manchu dynasty and afterwards by the Chinese Republic. The Chang-chia's influence was greatest in Inner Mongolia, and he also had monasteries at Wut'aishan, a great center of Mongol pilgrimage in Shansi province in North China, in Peking; and in the Monguor country as mentioned in the text above. The present incarnation of the Chang-chia is a refugee on Formosa.—O. L. [p. 59a]

425 they want us to sign contracts, have them registered, and pay taxes. In the good old days, as our tradition goes, all these formalities did not exist; when Monguors wanted to bring into cultivation some non-cultivated land in the clan territory, they took possession of it, and paid the regular taxes according to average. When they "passed" the land to some other member of the clan, they fixed the sum to be paid by mutual agreement. No contract was signed. Instead, the outlines of the field were drawn on a plank; the plank was sawn in two pieces, and each took half of it. Now there are too many astute Chinese enrolled in the clan. We Monguors and the T'u-ssu are not so unsophisticated as before, and every day there are more and more formalities.

425 618 This tradition about taking possession of land within the territory of the clan according to the personal needs of the subject, and naturally without prejudice to the interests of others, is instructive and believable. In the Hsifan (Tibetan) tribe of Sumdoo, near the monastery of Erhkulung, the same procedure still prevailed in 1911–1921. There, every member of the clan was free to bring into cultivation non-cultivated land, and to build a house anywhere in the territory of the clan. The man who did so was bound to notify his taking possession of the soil by offering to the chief of the tribe a quarter of a brick of tea and two packets of Chinese vermicelli; no other formalities or expenses. This tribe was still practising far more stock-breeding than agriculture, and was probably very much like the Monguors at the time when they were making the transition from cattle-breeding to farming. Among them, if a man wanted to make money by selling land that he had improved, perhaps by building a house or adding an irrigation ditch, they agreed on a sum and drew on a sheet of paper a map of the field and each took his half of the map. There was no other form of contract, no registration, and no tax. It is remarkable that this old custom of the map as deed of sale and title deed prevailed at late as 1911–1921.

423 618 These customs seem to indicate absolute independence and equality as between individual members of the clan in taking possession of community land in order to make a living. It would seem that all the members of the clan agree with each other's fundamental right to make a living, to improve themselves financially, and to do so by whatever means they personally consider adequate or necessary, as long as these means are not prejudicial to the interests of others.

Looking back to what has been said above about the chief of the clan and the way in which he is "chosen" and appointed by the elders, it is plain that the community, represented by the elders, was originally the possessor and dispenser of the clan territory. The supremacy of the chief came late and was a kind of usurpation. We learn from history that at all times usurpers have existed. It is clear that by the time of Chingis Khan the holder of a fief was the real proprietor. The fief was a definite territory granted the fief-holder. Its inhabitants were his vassals and he was the vassal of the emperor. He was the "owner" of both the vassals and the territory,

[P. 59-b]

423 under the higher "ownership" of the emperor.[42] The chiefs of the Monguors and Shat'o in Kansu must have been feudatories of this kind under the Mongol dynasty.

618 Among nomads living in an extensive territory the territorial rights of the nomad lord over his vassals were not exercised in the same way as among farming and sedentary peoples. They took primarily the form of the power of the chief to order and regulate the movements of herds and herders according to grazing needs at different seasons, to summon men for military service, and to requisition labor for other services.

For the Monguors and Shat'o, living in the relatively small territories assigned to them by the emperor, the problem was not one of wide grazing movement but of concentration for frontier defense. The chiefs were "owners" of the territory, and of the subjects whose military services they commanded, but within the limited territory each clan member was free to settle and cultivate at his own choice, and to treat all uncultivated land as "common pasture" for grazing.

The strongly "individual" character of the right of property in the Monguor society predominates over the social, civil, and political aspects of property, and deserves attention because it is a fundamental principle still fully understood, recognized, and applied by relatively primitive peoples, but often disregarded by sociologists.

T'U-SSU LORD OF THE COMMONERS

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621 The distinctive mark of a commoner is to be bound to his T'u-ssu. As already explained above, commoners were subjects granted to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war.[43] Since his subjects were his only source for the recruiting of troops, the military importance of a T'u-ssu corresponded to the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of the slave, the *nullum caput habens* of the Roman law,[44] the basic distinction between nobles and common-

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[42] Compare Lord Bryce's comment, [illegible] *Roman Empire*, 122-124, 229, New York, Macmillan, 1904, that in feudal Europe "real sovereignty" resided in the fief.—O. L.

[43] An element of agreement or bargaining may also be noted. When the "founding ancestor" submitted to the Ming dynasty; he was already (*a*) the leader of a group of his noble kinsmen and (*b*) in control of a number of commoners, perhaps originally the conquered subjects of his ancestors, perhaps "granted" to his ancestors by the preceding Mongol dynasty. His "bargain" with the Ming was that, without fighting, he offered them his allegiance as the man who was able to bring this military manpower into their service. The part played by the Ming was to accept the "bargain" by confirming and sustaining the T'u-ssu in his primacy among his kinsmen and his lordship over the commoners.—O. L.

[44] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80. In the old Mongol society the vassals were not slaves. They were allowed to possess their own property, to raise their own cattle. They enjoyed a certain amount of liberty. The suzerain did not absorb all the fruits of their labor. On the other hand, they were bound to serve him in time of peace and to fight for him in time of war; to accompany his clan when they migrated to new pastures, and always

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ers still existed in 1911–1922, even though the chasm which in former times separated nobles from commoners had almost been bridged in ordinary social life. The commoners were still, however, not allowed to abandon their chiefs. The moment they became able to exercise that freedom, the clans were bound to fall asunder, the troops to disappear, and the T'u-ssu institution to wither away.

The first duty of a subject was never to abandon his lord.[45] The subjects and their descendants were chained with fetters which never could be removed. They could not even of their own decision leave their lord in order to pass into the service of another lord. Under pre-Monguor customary law the death penalty was stipulated for attempting to do so.[46] This conviction of being chained was deeply rooted in the social consciousness of the Monguors and was considered by them to be natural.
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It was enforced by the right of the T'u-ssu to request from the Chinese officials the extradition of any of his subjects who fled and hid among the Chinese.

After the great rebellion of the Muslims (1868–1872), however, the military power of the Monguors gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time wielded any considerable influence. The Chinese officials, receiving fewer presents from the impoverished T'u-ssu, were not as willing as before to uphold their rights and privileges. Although there is no documentary evidence that the Chinese were following their traditional policy of unifying the administration by gradually abolishing the privileges of tribes that had become innocuous, perhaps there were secret orders from Peking to neglect the T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu institution had in fact become obsolete and the imperial authorities must have been aware that this kind of defense of the frontiers was now useless.[47] In any event, less support was henceforth

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to live together with his clan; to help in the pastoral economy and in hunting. It was impossible for them to unbind the fetters which chained them to the suzerain, and so their descendants continued to be the vassals of his clan.

[45] There was a distinction in this respect between nobles and commoners. As shown by the recorded instances, notably in the Li clan (see above, p. 40), a kinsman of the T'u-ssu could, in certain circumstances, split away from the T'u-ssu and, by the decree of the overlord state, take some of the commoners, be allocated a territory, be created himself a T'u-ssu, and become the founder of a new line of nobles ruling over subject commoners. From this aspect the position of a T'u-ssu relative to his noble kinsmen may be described as *primus inter pares* and relative to his commoners as *princeps omnium*.—O. L.

[46] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 153.

[47] The T'u-ssu and the whole antiquated Manchu imperial system were unable to deal with the Muslim insurrection, which was eventually put down by the "new style" Chinese (not Manchu) generals in command of Chinese (not Manchu) troops, with Western arms. One consequence was that it became evident that such frontier feudatories as the Monguors were no longer either useful or dangerous. Even if there were secret orders from Peking to neglect them, therefore, there was no need for such orders. Another consequence was that the "new style" Chinese generals began to become superior in prestige to the Manchu imperial state, and became, in fact, the "founding ancestors" of

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extended to the T'u-ssu, their influence waned and dwindled, and they even became unable to insist on the extradition of fugitive subjects who preferred to become Chinese or to take a chance on earning a living elsewhere.

The cornerstone of the whole institution had always been the power to keep the subjects bound to the chief and to the territory. As this power decreased during the last fifty years of the Manchu dynasty, there were many defections. In the end the only ties still attaching the vassals to their lord were the benefits of living under his administration, because his taxes on his subjects were not as heavy as the taxes imposed on Chinese. If the subjects saw a chance to better themselves in some other way, however, or felt the fetters of the T'u-ssu too chafing, they would say goodbye to their lord and leave him.

A rich subject of the Lu T'u-ssu living in the Lumen Valley, an owner of large herds, left his lord and enrolled in a Tibetan tribe north of Weiyuanp'u, where he secured better pasturage for his flocks and enjoyed about the material advantages that he had enjoyed near his lord. He was soon on his way to becoming a Tibetan, and his Monguor lord could not impede his departure.

About 1890, several groups of Monguors, vassals of different T'u-ssu, enrolled in the Tibetan tribe called "the ten large clans" living in Hasit'an in the sub-prefecture of Kulang. They left their lords and ceased to recognize any kind of allegiance to them. Because this defection was on a large scale and damaging to their prestige, the T'u-ssu collectively sued for the extradition of their undutiful subjects at the Chinese courts at Nienpei, P'ingfan, and Hsining, and finally at Lanchou. Convinced of their inalienable rights, they persisted, but in 1914, after more than twenty years of unavailing litigation, no decision had been handed down. The disheartened lords swallowed the bitter pill. The breach had been opened in the fortress of their old institution, and it appeared to be doomed. In 1918 I saw the defecting Monguors in Hasit'an. Their womenfolk still wore the distinctive Monguor headgear and dress, and they still spoke the Monguor language, but after one or two generations they would become Tibetans.

Another group of Monguors belonging to the Li T'u-ssu left their lord, repudiated their allegiance to him, and went to live in the territory of the monastery of T'ient'ang. They got into trouble with the Living Buddha of the monastery, who ordered them to wear Tibetan costume.

The Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erhkulung had acquired a large territory belonging to Mongols living north of the sub-prefecture of Maopeisheng.[45]

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the warlords, the social class that dominated the next generation both within China and on the frontiers.—O. L.

[45] This place name is a Chinese rendering of the Mongol *mu baishing*, "ruined (lit. 'bad') building" (or "fortress"). The ancient word *baishing* is not listed as used by Monguors in De Smedt and Mostaert's *Dictionnaire*.—O. L.

[P. 61a]

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He gathered several groups of Monguors and founded four Monguor villages, naming them after the villages from which the settlers came. These Monguors still recognize their allegiance to their lords for corvées and other services, but not for land taxes, which they pay to the Buddha.

A colony of Monguors from Shangsukou emigrated to Cholok in Narinkou. They, too, continued to recognize their old lord.

These facts prove that the clan institution of the T'u-ssu was falling asunder by the end of the Manchu dynasty, and also indicate that the Monguors were so prolific that the territory assigned to them by the emperor in 1368 had become too narrow.

TAXES

651 The Monguor taxation system bespeaks the nomadic tradition. In former times the importance of a nomad chief was not appraised by the extent of his territory, but by the number of his vassals. The Monguor T'u-ssu still retain this outlook. Their neighbors, the Chinese, impose taxes on the fields, not on the people, but the T'u-ssu impose taxes on the vassals, not on the fields. The vassals, having become farmers, live in villages. The T'u-ssu taxes the village community according to the number and wealth of its families. The heads of families, together with the elders, grade the families in five classes according to their wealth and apportion the taxes among them. Rich people who are traders or have large herds but cultivate little land are more heavily taxed than poor people who cultivate more land. At the lowest level the commoner is taxed without consideration of the source of his income. At this lowest level, the amount of land cultivated necessarily becomes the so[illegible]ase of taxation, and the nomadic principle of taxing the people is inevitably transformed into the agricultural principle of taxing the land.

It is easy to understand that the distribution of taxes is in many villages the source of troubles and quarrels which the T'u-ssu have to deal with on their triennial visits. Obviously, the system does not fit the framework of the present (1911–1921) economy of the Monguors. If the tax system were to fit the conditions, fields and herds and trade should be subject to differently calculated taxes; but both the Monguors and their T'u-ssu are still dominated by the nomadic tradition, and therefore accept the basic principle that it is the vassal and not the territory that should be taxed.

When the harvest has been reaped and threshed, the servants of the lord go to all the villages, exhorting the villagers to bring their taxes to the mansion of the T'u-ssu immediately. These taxes, levied in kind, constitute the principle income of the lord, who is therefore anxious to have them gathered into his granaries. The emissaries of the T'u-ssu also have their own customs and traditions. They know very well in which village they are entitled by custom to receive a sheep; in which village

651 a goat; in which small village a chicken; where they may collect a fixed number of loaves of steamed bread and where they are to be presented with a stack of pancakes cooked in oil, exactly the height of two chopsticks.

The villagers must themselves bring their grain to the mansion, where the granaries occupy a large space. The number of granaries indicates the importance of the T'u-ssu, the number of his subjects, and the extent of the fields they cultivate. The grain is measured and checked at the granary. The T'u-ssu uses a measure bigger than the official measure.[49] The grain is poured out of the sack into the measure so that it forms a cone projecting above the measure. The cone is then scraped level with a stick, and the surplus grain falls to the ground. This surplus, in addition to all grain falling beside the measure when poured from the sacks, belongs to the servitors of the T'u-ssu. This odious practice, always bitterly criticized by the commoners, was adopted from the Chinese. Commoners bringing their land taxes in grain are allowed to stay overnight at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, and are given a meal of noodles as gratuity.

When the Li T'u-ssu mortgaged some fields to the Living Buddha of Erhkulung, his subjects farming these fields were jubilant because the Buddha used the official measure to measure the taxes and did not allow the use of these hateful tricks at the expense of the farmers.

Notwithstanding all these odious practices used by the T'u-ssu, however, the taxes imposed on the subjects were not so great a burden as those imposed by the Chinese administration on the Chinese. This difference was the greatest political asset of the T'u-ssu and the reason why their commoners remained vassals, and did not demand that they be allowed to come under Chinese jurisdiction.

When a T'u-ssu mortgages fields to monasteries or to the Chinese, the taxes of the farmers are made over to the new lord; but the farmers remain the subjects of the T'u-ssu and are still liable to corvées and military service. When a T'u-ssu sells his fields outright for cash, however, he may also free his subjects from the corvée. By doing so, he "loses" these subjects. While the vassals tilling the soil of a T'u-ssu must pay land taxes, Monguors "passing" their fields to other vassals in order to get a high price, take on themselves the obligation to go on paying the taxes on the land. The result of this mortgaging of the indefinite future for the sake of the fleeting present is the kind of tax called "taxes without fatherhood." Comparable to this kind of transaction is the custom according to which, when a widow remarries, her new husband sometimes accepts the obligation to pay the taxes on the fields cultivated by her deceased husband; thus, though he does not have to pay a bride-price, he does have to pay, year after year, taxes on land which still belongs to and is still cultivated by the family of his wife's late husband.

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[49] During the first month of the year the T'u-ssu has to send to the Chinese officials in the nearest important city (Hsining or Nienpei) the grain-measures, weights, and scales used in the territory under his jurisdiction to be verified for honesty by comparison with the official weights and measures. One of the responsibilities of the T'u-ssu is to see that these standards are maintained by the shopkeepers and traders in his territory. The surveillance of these matters is a source of income for the T'u-ssu's underlings. The T'u-ssu uses the official measure when selling his stored grain; but in spite of his zeal for the observation of proper standards by his subjects, he uses his private—and larger—measure when weighing in the grain collected from them as taxes.

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CORVÉES

The principle of the corvée, to which the Monguors are still liable, is founded upon the vassalage under which the nomads were anciently bound to the "service" of their chief. When they neither tilled the soil nor paid land taxes, they were none the less real vassals. It is plain that farming and land taxes are innovations in the Monguor economy, and do not in themselves determine vassalage, since a Monguor who does not farm is just as much a vassal as one who farms. This is proved by the fact, cited above, that Monguors who farm fields mortgaged by their chiefs to a monastery, and pay their land taxes to the monastery, are still vassals of the T'u-ssu and liable to corvée. Monguors who farm land in Chinese territory and pay their land tax to the Chinese administration may also still remain liable for corvée to the T'u-ssu, instead of to the Chinese authorities.

A T'u-ssu may call upon those of his subjects who are commoners for the repair and upkeep of his mansion, which is a real castle. In former times this upkeep was one of the important obligatory services or corvées. The mansion was built on the pattern of a Chinese *yamen* or combined official residence and government office. It was surrounded by thick, high walls with towers at the four corners, and had a moat outside the wall. The space within the walls was divided into large courtyards containing administrative offices, a prison, an armory for weapons, granaries, stables, and flour mills in addition to a temple of the guardian deity of the clan, the hall of the ancestors, and a garden. Most of the buildings had mud walls and thatched roofs, requiring endless repairs, especially after heavy rain. There was also a long, narrow passage parallel to one of the outer walls which was originally a target range for archers, later used for shooting with rifles. There are only three such mansions still standing—those of the Lu T'u-ssu of Liench'eng, the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei, and of the T'a-wu Li T'u-ssu of Sanch'uan. The others were all burned and destroyed in the long history of frontier inroads by Mongols and Tibetans and above all in the succession of terrible Muslim rebellions. The new mansions that were built to replace those destroyed are on a much more modest scale.

For the upkeep of the mansion, the planting of trees, repair of roads and bridges, and the digging of canals each Monguor is called up in rotation for a fixed number of days. He must bring his own tools, and his food is provided by his village. For special occasions, such

651 as the ceremony of the investiture which has already been mentioned, extra services are required for whitewashing, work in the kitchen, and so forth. Obligatory services and gifts in kind are also required when the son or daughter of a T'u-ssu is married. Each village must then provide a fixed number of sheep, pigs, and cattle and also a contribution of 50,000 copper coins. These celebrations last for three days, with dinners that may be attended by as many as three or four hundred guests, at which all the nobles and important commoners must be on duty.

Among the Monguors as among the Chinese a funeral is a festival. The funeral of a T'u-ssu, of one or his wives, or of a married son is a great occasion. An official invitation is sent to each village, and on the invitation is listed the required offering of gifts in kind and cash. For the funeral of the T'u-ssu, of one of his wives, or of his eldest son, 50,000 copper coins are solicited. Nobles and the important commoners who are invited to take part in the procession as mourners must be dressed, in the Chinese style, in a long white gown. Each village must provide a number of gowns, and the women of the village must buy the white cotton cloth and sew the gowns. Invitations are sent to Chinese officials, to T'u-ssu, and to important people, and Monguor commoners have to forward these messages as a corvée service. Dinners are prepared for as many as a thousand persons. The funeral procession passes through the village or town with banners and streamers. The lamas of the monasteries in the clan territory are required to take part in the funeral, chanting prayers, and must be fed for several days. The ceremonies may last for a week, and the entertainment may require the slaughtering of ten or more oxen, a hundred sheep, and fifty hogs.

In preparation for such a funeral, all the old graves in the cemetery must be put in good condition; and after the burial of a T'u-ssu a guard must be kept over the cemetery, day and night, for a whole year. Each village in rotation provides a guard for ten days. In mourning for a T'u-ssu, his officials remove from their hats for a full year the button, of different material and colors according to rank, which is the token of their office.

MILITARY SERVICE

701 Traditionally, the most important duty of the Monguors was military service. Military organization followed the conventional Mongol decimal structure, the smallest unit consisting of ten men. The most important officers were "commanders of one hundred" and "commanders of a thousand." Each T'u-ssu stood at the head of his own forces. Originally, the officers were always nobles. In later times, this tradition decayed and the T'u-ssu became accustomed to selling the office of "commander of a thousand" to the highest bidder, noble or commoner. The names of the commanders had to be submitted to the military commander of Hsining. It is hardly surprising therefore that during the great

701 Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875 the "commanders of a thousand" vanished and the "commanders of one hundred," who had not purchased their rank, turned out to be the real leaders.

Each village knows the number of men that it must provide for military service. In some villages the farmers agree among themselves, designating each family that is to provide a soldier when there is a call for service. Another method is for the village to hire young men whenever there is a call for troops from the T'u-ssu. In some villages the custom is to set aside fields, known as "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers," the income from which is used to meet the military obligations of the village. These fields are made over, as their private property, to families which agree to provide soldiers. Such fields are free of taxes, and the families owning them have the right to "pass" them to other families, in which case the new owners assume the obligation attached to the fields. Military equipment in the form of weapons, uniforms, kettles, tents, and horses "passes" together with the fields. Because a family owning such fields is exempt from taxes, it receives no indemnity if a son of the family is killed on military service; on the contrary, it must provide another man to take the place of the one killed. In villages that do not follow this system, the families of soldiers killed in action must be indemnified. In such villages, every time that men are called up for active service the indemnity to be provided in case of death is debated in long and earnest village meetings.

In one case known to me, all ten soldiers of the village of Lichiachai were killed in the great Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875. After this disaster no one dared to take over possession of the "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers" and assume the responsibility of military service. In consequence, it became the custom in this village for the whole community to farm these fields, without taxes, the income providing a fund from which the village hired and equipped its contingent of ten soldiers.

701
651 Another typical case is that of Yangch'üan, the village in which the sixth House of the Li clan collects its land taxes. In 1876, after the Muslim rebellion there were no more people in the village. The T'u-ssu and the sixth House were eager to get farmers who would pay the taxes and provide the squad of ten soldiers that constituted the obligations of this village. A group of Chinese were willing to enroll into the clan, farm the land and pay the taxes, but refused to assume the burden of equipping ten soldiers. Finally the sixth House agreed to assume the military burden, if the farmers would agree to provide the fodder of ten horses, amounting to two *tan* of peas. After a few years the sixth House started asking for four *tan* of peas. The farmers complained to the T'u-ssu and the rate was fixed at three *tan*. In 1882, however, pressure was put on the farmers to provide in addition to the fodder for them the

[P. 63b]

701 651 ten horses. The farmers brought a suit against the sixth House in the Chinese court. The case dragged on for many years, during which both sides spent a great deal of money, and finally the farmers were compelled to give four *tan* of peas. But during the subsequent Muslim rebellion of 1891–1895 the sixth House absconded and the farmers were compelled to provide ten soldiers and horses, together with fodder and equipment. After the rebellion new complaints followed one after another and finally in 1918 the stubborn villagers refused to recognize any military burden.

701 The small scale of traditional frontier warfare is shown by the fact that only one T'u-ssu was called upon to furnish as many as 300 soldiers, 100 of them mounted. The contingent of another T'u-ssu was 150, including 50 mounted men; two others had to furnish 100 men each, 5 of them mounted (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42; *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 18, pp. 3*a*, 4*a*). Among these figures I have not been able to find those for the contingent of the Lu T'u-ssu. If his contingent numbered 300, like that of the Li T'u-ssu, the total for all the Monguors would be only 1,275 men. But it is said that he disposed of 700 Monguor soldiers and 300 lama
705 175 soldiers.[30] The Monguor troops, except for those hired by their own villages, received no pay, but when they were on active service the imperial commissary provided them with salt, tea, and flour. The troops were, however, entitled to any booty that they could capture. In the Ming dynasty, according to the *Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 47*a*, an expedition was sent to Turkistan (Sinkiang) to punish the tribes of Hantung and Chiuhsien in 1423. This expedition was commanded by Li Ying, who had the title of Count (Po) of Hui-ning. His forces consisted mostly of Monguors; and they returned with a booty of more than 140,000 cattle. More recently, in 1918, a group of Monguor soldiers participated as volunteers in an expedition against the Ngolok Tibetans of Kukunor. They returned after half a year, each man with a booty of nine cows

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[30] In time of war, however, it is evident that some T'u-ssu, at least, were able to raise more troops than the number required of them according to the formal lists. Thus in the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 the Chinese general Yueh Chung-ch'i enrolled 2,000 Monguor troops for the defense of the passes, according to the *Tung Hua Lu*, a Manchu imperial chronicle, 3rd vol. of the reign of Yung Cheng, 1st year, p. 29; a thousand Monguors of the Lu T'u-ssu fought at Chitzeshan, according to the *Ch'ing Shih-lu*, an archive of materials collected for the writing of a formal history of the Manchu dynasty, Bk. 144, ch. 13, p. 8; Monguors (number not given) commanded by Chiang Tung destroyed the monastery of Shihmen and killed seven hundred lamas and Tibetans according to the same source, Bk. 145, ch. 16, p. 28, and others helped to quell the revolt in the region of Kueite, according to the *Huang Ch'ing Fan-pu Yao-lüeh*, an imperial publication dealing with "barbarian" affairs, ch. 11, p. 7*a*. Previous to this, in 1720, Monguor troops of the Li T'u-ssu had accompanied the Manchu-Chinese expedition sent to drive the Jungar Mongols out of Lhasa, according to the *Wei Tsang T'ung-chih* (*Annals* of Central Tibet, ch. 13, p. 2*b*), and *Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 38*b*.

705 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt
175 coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black
714 cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was
a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow
trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest
and back. On these circles were written three Chinese
characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan
name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red
jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier
was expected to report for duty with an old musket and
a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to
provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition
to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are
shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly
had the responsibility for guarding certain passes lead-
ing to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments
of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of
peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect
taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and
levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until
recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right
to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his
town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according
to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu
T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese
traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in
527 his territory. The Monguors were exempted from
651 these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected
all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City").
These occasions were celebrated with horse races and
wrestling matches, and there was a large market at-
tended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected
taxes from merchants attending this market.

701 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at
the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards,
651 and official messengers. They also maintained order
among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at
the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and
at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occa-
sions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an in-
spection visit every three years (in some cases, every
two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit
is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the
course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of
the number of his subjects and check on the administra-
tion of the villages, in order to make a report to the
Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This
triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a
T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama.
Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on
the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

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651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village."

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264 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

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796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[31]

177
792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

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[31] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

177 tion of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the
Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the tem-
792 ple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent
duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where
177 the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity
honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is
776 Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black
mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left she holds a bowl made from a human skull. The mule is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her duties as protector.[52] I was unable to find out why, and at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan spirits of the Monguors were like before they became modified by Lamaism.

624 After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an
official reception and congratulations are exchanged.
796 The community then leave the courtyard and two
sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this point in the protocol, the T'u-ssu marks a departure from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries for an audience and explain to them the problem they want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim, or to complain against an injustice or against the administration, must put their request in writing, and the requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

624 On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of meetings with the chief men of the community, the elders, and the military officials. The first item of business is the examination of the village register, which is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and the possibility of bringing them back is considered. Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the village and the division of taxes and corvees. The T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village, singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward

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[52] A. Grunwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to the Ukhtomskii Collection).

[P. 65b]

624 lands, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

624 701 The number of men in the village liable to military service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

624 692 The next important procedure is ratification by the T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

624 693 681 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

624 651 691 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

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624 as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.[53] Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and never less frequently than once in three years.[54] Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

173 618 At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all the noble families and their members. Even the girls are noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNAL VISIT

624 574 At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles, the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of [431] interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth.

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[53] E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, 1, 113, 321. Paris, 1827.

[54] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit*, 51.

[P. 66-b]

624 574 cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES, MILITARY SERVICE

565 651 There are important differences between commoners and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

565 651 769 Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

565 651 The custom in regard to corvées is parallel to that regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must 565 574 pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given

565 by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate
574 Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year.
The nobles as a group are also exempted from military
565 service, although the chiefs of the militia of the commoners,
565 according to tradition, were always chosen from
701 among the nobles in former times. In later times both
622 nobles and commoners have served as commanders and
622 officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

624 As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu
565 and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

624 Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate
624 either in quarrels over the division of a paternal inheritance
565 or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In
692 order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

681 Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

624 When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of
565 his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

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[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

[p. 67-b]

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noble or a group of nobles did not agree with the chief of the clan, they were free to take those commoners who were directly subject to them and to join another clan or found a new clan. The Monguors do not remember that groups of nobles have ever left one clan to join another. The way in which, in the Li clan, a noble who did not agree to the appointment of his nephew as T'u-ssu was given 100 families and allowed to become a small independent T'u-ssu himself, has already been described. This case occurred, however, during the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty fell and the Manchu dynasty was set up. It may, therefore, be interpreted, perhaps, not as a real secession from the clan but rather as a compromise, in a time of uncertainty, to avoid dissension within the clan. Since the Monguor clans are small, and since the nobles do not have commoners who are their own direct subjects, secession from the clan is in fact practically impossible. A single family of nobles, not being able to take a following of commoners with it, would have no bargaining power in attempting to join another clan and could in fact join only if willing to accept commoner status instead of noble status. Thus it can be said that the device of granting to Houses only the right to collect taxes from certain villages, and not the direct "ownership" of the villages, has served to bind the Monguor nobles to their clan and to their territory.

WANING INFLUENCE OF NOBLES

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The facts that have here been recited seem to justify the general inference that the transition from a nomadic economy to an agricultural economy resulted in undermining the influence and power formerly wielded by the nobles as a group. On the one hand, all forms of noble power have tended to become more nearly monopolized by the T'u-ssu; on the other hand increasing self-government by the villages and participation by commoners in both civil and military administration has tended to make the power of the T'u-ssu less absolute and more nominal. Farming led to the grouping of the commoners in villages and, therefore, inevitably to new forms of administration and control. Gradually, as it became customary to give village appointments to commoners who were energetic and able instead of to idle nobles who were content to live on their revenues, the nobles were squeezed out. Since the power to appoint chiefs and elders and military commanders remained with the T'u-ssu, his nominal power was increased but since this meant that the actual collection of revenue in the villages and the actual exercise of authority were in the hands of commoners, their real power increased.

[556] This development was probably favored on the one hand by the weakening cohesion of the nobles through their division into Houses, and on the other hand by the increasingly individualistic farming economy, which increased the local respect for families which were of non-noble origin but had become wealthy and influential.

[P. 68a]

565 178 558 621 conversely, the nobles were weakened by the fact that their unearned revenue decreased generation by generation, through inheritance and subdivision, so that more and more, if a noble family were locally wealthy and respected, it was not because of its share of taxes but because this particular family was able to produce and conserve wealth in the same manner as the leading commoner families. The ties of such a family with the rest of the nobility were weakened, and its ties with the local village community and its interests were strengthened.

NOBLES AND COMMONERS

565 178 We may summarize this aspect of the social history of the Monguors by saying that when they first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, the social distance between commoners and nobles must have been very great. With settled life and the increasing domination of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their own ability to manage their own farms, and local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability and not primarily by class. Nobles could, in the conventional form of sale, "pass" their fields to commoners, and commoners to nobles. They bought cattle and grain from each other and sold them to each other. Nobles and commoners, if they had the money, joined together to invest in trade. Apart
565 178 576 from the important discrimination in favor of nobles in immunity from taxes and corvées, and immunity from being flogged in court, the principal surviving distinctions of the aristocracy are such things as their higher rank at important ceremonies, social precedence at dinners, marriages, funerals, and festivities (even though the noble were a poor man), the custom of calling the nobles "ta jen" (great man), and finally the old custom that when a commoner meets a noble on the road, he must dismount, remove his hat, and unroll his pigtail.

In my own experience, I know of a case of an old man named Chao, of Peiyahua, who, refusing to dismount in this manner, was brought before the T'u-ssu, made to apologize, and required to make an offering of a sheep with red paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cotton cloth bound on its back, and to present incense and oil to the ancestral temple. It is to the disadvantage, not the advantage, of the nobles as a class that many of them show an overbearing pride. Such men are most conspicuous when, though known to be addicted to opium and gambling, they try to uphold their traditional "rights" by demanding deference from commoners.

THE CLAN ASSEMBLY

175 In the year 1913 the Monguors were entering on a period of trouble and decline. The T'u-ssu institution was threatened. Ever since the beginning of the Chinese Republic in 1911 there had been rumors that the Chinese officials would abolish the institution. The dowager who

175 was acting as regent of the most powerful of all the Monguor clans, the Lu clan, went so far as to send valuable presents to the Muslim general, Ma K'o-ch'eng, in Hsining, who was the all-powerful warlord of the region, imploring him to become the "dry father"—that is to say, the adoptive father and protector—of her adopted son of eleven years of age. The general accepted and the boy and his mother traveled the long distance from Liench'eng to Hsining in order to perform the filial rites symbolizing the "dry fatherhood."

618 769 It was in these circumstances that I had the great good fortune to attend probably the last gathering of a clan that was held with the pomp and splendor of former days. This was the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu which carried out the ceremony of venerating the founding ancestor at the old cemetery, called Ch'i-chia fenyuan, or "cemetery of the Ch'i family," at T'angpa. According to the old custom, such an assembly should be held every year at the grave of the founding ancestor, on the Chinese festival of Ch'ing Ming, when ancestors are honored all

[p. 69a]

769 618 over China. The festival, calculated according to the lunar calendar, usually falls about the beginning of April. The assembly of the clan is concerned with three matters : the veneration of ancestors, a great feast, and an assize at which all topics concerning the clan are open for discussion.

MONGUOR CEMETERIES

764 172 It is plain from the descriptions that have already been given that the burial customs of the Monguors in recent times have been heavily overlaid with Chinese borrowings. There are, however, indications of more ancient customs. People told that in 1906, after very heavy rains, a wall near the village of Hsinyuánp'u on the spur of a mountain in the valley of Shat'ang collapsed and a big vaulted burial chamber was revealed. It had been built with very large bricks. It contained a coffin, which had rotted away, in which there was the skeleton of a man. His clothes had rotted, but the remains of a bow, arrows, and quiver were found. Before the coffin there lay the skeleton of a horse. The saddle had also rotted,

[P. 69-b]

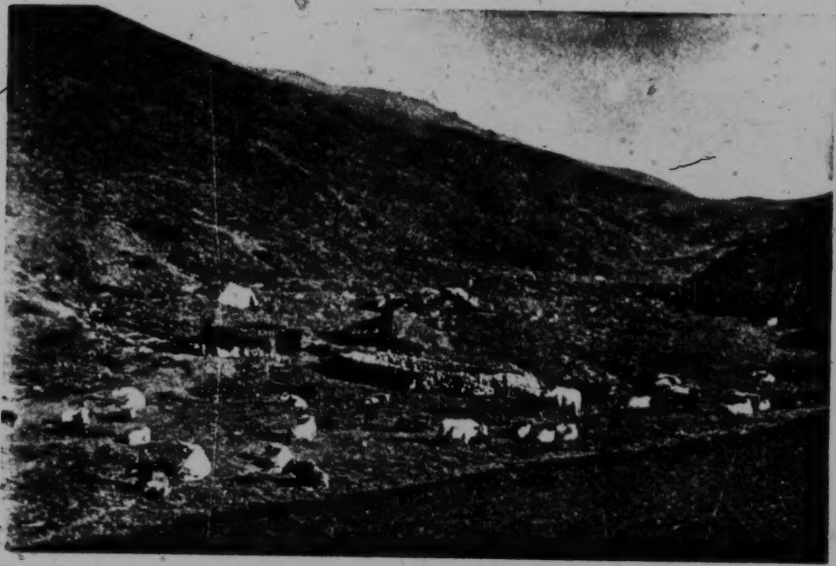

FIG. 3. The summer camp of Lu 65, a rich Monguor, subject of Lu T'u-ssu, who enrolled in the Tibetan tribe of Waza. His T'u-ssu was unable to prevent his departure.

The author's small white tent is at the left. The whole family wore Tibetan clothes and were already speaking Tibetan. This Monguor had left the clan of his T'u-ssu because of troubles with the T'u-ssu's officials, and also because in the Monguor country the pasturage was insufficient for his big herds. It was remarkable how the whole family, in a very few years, had adapted itself so completely to the Tibetan pattern of life. (Picture taken in 1917.)

[p. 69c]

764 172 but it could be seen that the materials of the saddle had included copper and iron. As this discovery was made six years before I arrived in the country, I was unable to gather more details from the local people, who were totally uninterested in archaeological discoveries. The bricks of the tomb were said to have been carried away and used by the villagers, and the place could no longer be identified.

We know from numerous archaeological excavations that such tombs were built by the Turkish and Mongol tribes of Inner Asia and Northern Mongolia from ancient down to medieval times. These tombs are related in design to the tombs of the ancient Chou kings in China in the first millennium B.C. They consist essentially of an excavated chamber, its walls shored up either with timber or, in China, with bricks, and a great tumulus heaped up over the grave.[56] In the grave were placed horses and sometimes wives and servants who had been sacrificed to be buried with the deceased. Does the horse-burial tomb in the Monguor country belong to this tradition? This question I cannot answer, as I was unable to inspect the tomb.

At present there exist only two ancestral burial mounds which, according to Monguor tradition, contain such burial chambers. One is that of the Ch'i clan in Nienpei, built in the garden of the mansion, in which are buried the more recent ancestors of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, and the other that of the Lü clan in Liench'eng. For other clans, there are conflicting traditions. Some say that in former times a number of clans had similar ancestral mounds, but that they were destroyed by Muslims. This tradition is not supported by such evidence as the ruins of burial places of this kind; on the other hand, in all the oldest cemeteries there is merely a big mound over the grave of the founding ancestor, without burial chambers, and therefore graves with such chambers are not only exceptional but of late construction.

173 172 As for the valley in which the horse-bu[illegible] was discovered, it is said that it was once inhabited by the Li clan, which is of Shat'o Turkish origin. Near the place where the burial-chamber was found there are still the ruins of an old fortress which is said locally to have been built by the famous Li, Prince of Chin. Although it is quite probable that the Shat'o Turks once occupied this valley, it is certain that the famous Prince Li never lived there. It is possible that his name has been attached in folk tradition to some other once-famous Shat'o chief; but it does not seem likely that this chief, whoever he was, was a direct an[illegible]stor of the present clan, because the Li clan holds its assembly in the valley of Hanp'ingshan, five miles south of Hsining (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 4, p. 3).

764 The Sanch'uan branch of the same clan, south of Nienpei, holds its diet at Hsiangt'ang, at the junction of the Tat'ung and Hsining Rivers. Here stands the most elaborate cemetery in the whole country. It seems to

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[56] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 121, Liepzig, 1893. [p. 70a]

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be of later date, and to have been built to glorify the Li clan. Along the approach avenue are two beautiful steles honoring the two most illustrious members of the two branches of the clan, Li Wen of the Hsining branch and Li Yin of the southern branch, though neither of them is actually buried here. They bore respectively the titles of Earl of Kaoyang and Earl of Huining, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 7, pp. 8, 17. The cemetery, enclosed by a mud wall, stands against the mountain and overlooks the river. Within it a large avenue bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay leads to a big stele on which is engraved the history of the clan, with its claim to descent from Li K'o-yung and the record that its chief, Li Nan-ko, submitted to the Ming and was granted hereditary chieftainship of the clan, later confirmed by the Manchu dynasty. The glorious titles of Li Wen and Li Yin are then recorded once more, together with names of members of the clan who died defending the empire, and finally there is the text of an imperially-granted funereal inscription. The cemetery contains a number of beautiful steles from the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, the most recent dating from the period of Kuang Hsü (1875–1909). Among those commemorated are Li Nan-ko, Li Wen and Li Yin who are not buried there; except for Li Wen, all those commemorated belong to the southern branch. Many of these steles are said to have been bought and engraved in Peking, and to have been granted by emperors. As the presence of a stele is no guarantee that the deceased is buried there, it is hard to say when the cemetery was actually built.

It should be noted that, under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has long been the general Monguor custom to cremate the dead, the funeral rites being carried out by lamas; but it is also a general tradition that in ancient times burial was general. T'u-ssu, however, are always buried—the aristocratic tradition being, in this instance, stronger than the religious influence.

During the six or seven centuries that the Monguors have held their present frontier territories, many private cemeteries have been built by both nobles and commoners, separate from the burial places of the founding ancestors, in which there was no more burial space left. The Monguors honor their more recent ancestors at these separate burial places, three days before [illegible] spring equinox, which gives them time to attend the annual assembly a few days later.

The cemeteries of the Monguors are laid out like those of the Chinese. They are square in shape and enclosed by a mud wall. Against the back or northern wall stands the high mound over the remains of the founding ancestor. Before the mound there stands an upright sepulchral stone slab on which are carved Chinese characters reading "thrones of the deity of the earth and of the souls of the ancestors." In front of the slab is a stone table for offerings. An avenue leads straight from the entrance of the cemetery to the high mound.

[P. 706]

764 In the more recent graveyards the date of the setting up of the stone and the name of the deceased can still be read, but on the older monuments nothing is legible, not only because the soft stone of the region weathers badly but because the Monguors have scratched and defaced the stones.[57] On both sides of the approach avenue there are smaller mounds, in rows, each with a stone table for offerings. Husband and wife are buried under the same mound, and as the rows of graves correspond to descent by generations, the number of generations buried in the cemetery can easily be determined.

WORSHIPPING OF THE ANCESTORS

769 On the occasion that I attended, the T'u-ssu went after breakfast to the cemetery, preceded by more than fifty soldiers and followed by the heads of the noble and non-noble families, the chiefs and elders of the villages, and the officials of his administration. In 1913 all of these personages were still wearing the old official Chinese costume customary under the Manchu Empire: a silk gown, a long silk outergown, satin boots, and a hat with a red fringe and a button on top corresponding to the grade of official rank. Hundreds of Monguor women flocked to the cemetery in their brightest attire, and men and children of the clan followed the ceremonial parade. A table bearing a large hog and a pork pie which had been prepared from the head of the hog stood next to the offering table. Alongside the offering table were also laid out twelve rolls of steamed bread, wine, tea, paper and incense sticks. On the offering table there stood a loaf of bread shaped like a dish, into the hollow of which were poured oil, flour, and roasted wheat.

The master of ceremonies, in a loud voice, ordered the nobles to line up in rows according to their generation. The non-nobles formed in rows also, standing behind the nobles and separated from them by a perceptible distance.

The next order was to adjust hats and clothes and to

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[57] The Monguors have a custom of scratching and defacing the steles in front of the grave mounds of the founding ancestors of clans and also of other celebrated ancestors, because they believe these chips have medicinal properties. Grinding the fragments to dust, they mix them with the medicines prescribed by physicians. In my own time a large part of the stele of the founding ancestor of the Ch'i clan had already disappeared and the inscription was illegible. I noticed even more defacement of the stele of the ancestor of the Li clan in Hanp'ingshan. This old cemetery is more elaborate than other Monguor cemeteries: on both sides of the large avenue leading to the central mound are animals carved in stone. This practice is allowed only for high officials. All these animals had been defaced in the same way by the Monguors.

D. C. Graham, Notes on the primitive religion of the Chinese in Szech'uan, *Jour. West China Border Research Society* 1 (1): 53, Chengtu, Canadian Mission Press, 1922–1923, writes that "in the Po-chih Miao near Sui-fu, Szech'uan . . . is a stone still worshipped, and for a few cash one can purchase a tiny bit of the rock which will cause him to recover from illness if he will grind it to sand, soak in water, and then drink the water."

769 stand erect with arms stretched at the side. This was followed by an order to "worship the spirit of the earth." On this order the T'u-ssu, alone, went straight to the offering table before the central mound, prostrated himself, knelt and bowed nine times before the stele, and poured wine on the ground as a libation to the spirit of the earth. At the next order, "worship the ancestors!" the T'u-ssu, still alone, knelt and prostrated himself nine times before the stele, pouring the ritual libation of wine on the stone table, and performed the same rite at each end of the stone tables in front of the smaller mounds. A libation of tea was then poured in the same way, paper was burned, and incense sticks fixed on every small mound and on the central table in front of the great mound.

Again hats and clothes were adjusted, and at the order of the master of ceremonies the members of the oldest living generation lined up before the stele, and taking their time from his commands bowed, prostrated themselves, and knelt nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and so on. The rites performed by each group of the nobles and by the commoners have already been related above (pp. 60 sq.) as has also the sacrificial communion with the founding ancestor. At each distribution of pie and bread, the oldest generation received its portion first. Later the carcass of the pig was divided in the same way, and portions of the pie and the pork were reserved to be sent to noble members of the clan who had been unable to attend the assembly.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

173 769 The ceremony of veneration is followed by bringing up to date the genealogical register of the descendants of the founding ancestor, in the presence of the T'u-ssu and the whole noble group. In noble families, when a father, mother, or some other member of a family dies, the Monguors write the name of the deceased, the names of his parents, and the hour and day of his birth and death on a slip of red paper. This slip is impaled on a chopstick, which is planted in a bowl containing wheat, placed reverently before the picture of the Lama Buddhist or Taoist deity particularly honored in that family. The slip of paper is later removed, brought to the annual assembly, and presented to the T'u-ssu by the kneeling son of the deceased, who holds incense sticks in his joined hands. The name of the deceased is then entered in the register. After the book has been wrapped again in its yellow silk, the son first arises from his kneeling position and then prostrates himself three times. Unmarried persons are not noted in the book. In cases of adoption, the fact of adoption is recorded.

764 After these ceremonies the care of the cemetery is entrusted to one of the nobles for the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions, offerings, and the making of repairs. After a short deliberation to determine the selection, a bowl of bread is put in a

[P. 71-b]

764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families.

769 792 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 527 More than any other single ceremony, this annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

576 624 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618–906),

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[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

[p. 72a]

576 624 "when their ministers of state had audience with the Khakhan, etiquette required them to remove the hat and enter with dishevelled hair, something akin to the Hsiungnu custom." [59]

FESTIVAL

527 Chinese merchants, who keep themselves informed of all festival dates among the Monguors, of course gather in great numbers and pitch their tents in the wide valley below the cemetery. The merchants pay taxes for permission to attend such gatherings.

On this occasion, a very large tent was pitched within which the T'u-ssu presided over the festivities, seated in the midst of the nobles, the elders, and all the prominent non-nobles of the clan, receiving the renewed professions of allegiance of his subjects. The chiefs and elders of each village, ceremonially dressed, came up one after another to do homage, bowing kneeling, and performing the *k'o-t'ou* or prostration, taking their time from the master of ceremonies who shouted his directions in a loud voice. The T'u-ssu, at the height of his glory, was happy to entertain each and every man for a few moments. Hundreds of Monguors crowded around, looking on and enjoying the ceremony.

Finally, dinner was eaten by the T'u-ssu and all the chiefs and prominent members of the clan, some seated inside the tent and an overflow outside seated on felt rugs at small tables. The customary whole sheep, the traditional dish of honor of all Inner Asian nomads, was presented to the T'u-ssu. Wine was drunk and tongues began to wag. A couple of girls with pleasing voices were invited to sing the customary songs, outside the tent and in the presence of the crowd. A number of men and women presented graceful dances, each dancing alone without a partner, to the music of a simple guitar-like instrument. Youngsters raced on unsaddled, spirited horses, passing before the tent to cross the finish line, and finally two wrestlers, a Monguor and a Tibetan lama from the monastery of Serkok, were admired and congratulated. A number of Monguors and Tibetans, befuddled with liquor, started fighting, and soldiers closed in on them to restore order. Before sunset most of the crowd had gone, leaving a few small groups still sitting on the ground, singing and making merry.

The Monguors told me that this glorious day seldom passed without a certain amount of disturbance and fighting; but the tradition is that no suits can be brought before the T'u-ssu or the village chiefs for heads smashed, bones broken, and clothes torn on this day of celebration.

ASSIZES OF THE CLAN

692 The next morning the assizes of the clan began inside the big tent, presided over by the T'u-ssu, with the chief

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[59] E. H. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 211, 2nd ed., London, Kegan, Paul, 1924. (It should be noted, however, that among the Mongols the custom is the opposite; it is an incivility to take off the hat in the presence of a superior.—O. L.)

692 nobles and non-nobles, chiefs of villages, and officials of the administration in attendance. A large number of Monguors sat around the tent, taking a keen interest in the proceedings. The matters discussed were for the most part of the same kind as those dealt with when the T'u-ssu makes his triennial tour of the villages: taxes and corvées were discussed and fixed, inquiries were made about the observance of traditions, the register of subjects was checked over, military matters were reviewed, and disputes between villages adjudicated. The T'u-ssu appointed or dismissed a number of chiefs, village elders, and military commanders. At these assizes suits may be brought for personal adjudication by the T'u-ssu, who metes out punishment according to custom.

The expenses of this annual assembly are shared by the subjects, while the offerings for the ancestors are paid for by the nobles—a division of expenses that again underlines the difference between the inner clan of common blood-descent and the extended clan of political subjects. Usually by the third day there are no more tents in the valley, the merchants have dispersed, and the T'u-ssu returns to his mansion. Such were the proceedings at the last glorious annual assembly of the clan of the Ch'i-T'u-ssu, which I had the good fortune to attend in 1913.

REMARKS

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624 The description of the organization of the Monguor clans and their administration is based on the pattern of the large clans. It is easy to understand that the display of pomp at the diets is related to the importance of the clans, the number of their clan members, and their wealth, and also to the wealth and prestige of the T'u-ssu. Small clans finish the three acts of their diet in a single day, always keeping the difference and deference between nobles and commoners at the time of worshipping of the founding ancestor. In small clans however, constituted by only 150 families or so, both groups necessarily are not numerous and the diet is more like a family gathering and is more informal. Since the clan is small, all the circumstances of each family are known by the T'u-ssu and he himself tackles all the problems of the clan with the elders; the collection of land taxes by nobles is necessarily reduced to a minimum, but the nobles are always exempted from taxes and corvées. Corvées are necessarily reduced in the same way, since the mansion of the T'u-ssu is usually a small Chinese courtyard without temples and administrative buildings. Inevitably the distance which separates T'u-ssu from commoners is minimized, because the commoners may confer directly with the T'u-ssu. In the large clan it is not easy for the commoner to meet the T'u-ssu, for soldiers watch the entrance of his mansion, requests have to be written by the secretaries and forwarded by messengers to the lord, and it is uncertain if the lord will allow the Monguor commoner to see him or not. Because the distance

618 624 is strictly kept, the prestige and authority of the lord are inevitably increased.

In small clans, when the T'u-ssu is a haughty and supercilious man, or an opium addict and gambler exacting in his demands for corvées and greedy for the money of his subjects, he is easily criticized and despised because the distance between him and his subjects is reduced, and the commoners get into open arguments with him, and rebel and accuse him in the Chinese court. In the lack of distance between the T'u-ssu and subjects and the waning authority of the T'u-ssu lies the secret of the fact that it is in the small clans that commoners most easily leave their chiefs, giving the Chinese officials the opportunity to reduce both commoners and T'u-ssu to the rank of Chinese subjects and to confiscate their territory. It is no wonder that the clans which have disappeared are the small clans.

IV. THE VILLAGE

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

621 361 The Monguor village consists (1911–1922) of a group of families living in a well defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the chief of the village. Since the villagers all till the soil and keep cattle, the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures.

Most farmers, however, live in small hamlets. The patrilineal family system seems to favor this kind of grouping. When the paternal inheritance is divided, the sons build small houses near the old one, bring new lands under cultivation, and small groups of related families, living close together, spring up all over the territory.

Wealthy Monguors hire poor people to cultivate their fields and herd their cattle, and build small houses for them near their own. Wealthy Monguors also give in to the desires of their wives and daughters-in-law and allow poor relatives to build small houses near their own. They lend them oxen to plow their fields, and as they prosper the group increases and the hamlet grows into a village.

361 621 721 A third factor promoting the grouping of families was, in the past, the chronic insecurity of the country, ravaged by recurring inroads of Tibetans and Mongols. According to tradition the Monguors, when they first came into this territory, still lived in tents. At that time it was easy to pick up the tent and move out of the path of invasion; but once they began to live in houses, the houses had to be defended. Wealthy people in the outlying territory built a high thick mud wall around their houses. To these enclosures the poor families fled in time of trouble, helping in the defense of the small community. Wealthy people, therefore, liked to see the hamlet increased by the addition of poor families, who provided more manpower for defense. All over the country numerous ruins of strongholds are the enduring witnesses of the bad old times. [P. 73-6]

361 621 721 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

618 701 361 621 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the
[311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

361 Monguors seem to have an inbred abhorrence for the straight line. Some strongholds are inhabited by one hundred or two hundred families, mostly poor people, and have more and larger shops. The central stronghold is not, socially, the center of the village except when the T'u-ssu lives there. Monguor farmers, owning more cattle than Chinese, do not like to live confined within walls. Even the village meetings are not held in the stronghold.

The principle determining the location of villages seems not to have been the size of the population or the extent of the territory, but rather the topography (good defense points) or natural centers of community interest, such as an irrigation canal. In some cases the origin of a village can be traced to the fact that, in order to avoid trouble, a group of families split away from its relatives and founded a new village. In other cases, splitting-off was in order to move within reach of new pastures and sources of wood-supply. For such reasons there is great variation in density of population and distances between the villages.

DWELLINGS

342 Since, according to tradition, the Monguors were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents, it is not surprising that when they settled in Kansu and began to build houses, they copied those used by the frontier Chinese, and so the houses of the Monguors are built on the Chinese pattern. Construction begins with the building of four outer walls, forming a square and facing south. The walls are formed in the following way: The earth is levelled for the foundation. Planks are set on edge, facing each other and braced by uprights. These determine the thickness of the wall. Earth is shovelled between the planks and then pounded tight by lifting and dropping a heavy wooden ram./ When the space between the planks has been tightly packed, the planks are raised and the next course is packed in the same way. By adjusting the distance between the planks, the wall is made to taper slightly toward the top. Within the walls are built the mud-walled and thatch-roofed houses, with wooden rafters and beams. At the southwest corner of the enclosure there is a small gate, not wide enough to allow a cart to enter, because a small gate is easier to defend than a large one.
343 In the angles of the other three corners are built the stables and the kitchen, which is separate from the dwelling quarters. Under the windows, outside the buildings, are constructed mangers for the cattle. At night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals, horses, mules, and donkeys. The Monguors like to sleep amid the animals as their nomad ancestors did.
342 In the houses along the side walls live the younger sons, and in the same buildings are stored grain, skins, wool, farming implements, saddles, the grindstone, etc.

The chief of the family lives in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. A large room

[p.74b]

342 in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by 352 the *k'ang*—a small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, 354 sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), 358 and there is also a small cupboard. Along 251 the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical instrument, clothes, etc. In the comer of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables. 342 Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

343 In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family—for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.[1] The two remaining corners are converted into stables—for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

621 Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of 184 house and earn their living by the same means, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each

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[1] This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from ot-qan (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O. L.

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other's houses. Their children play together. In winter the women of noble and commoner families sit in each other's houses sewing clothes. In times of sickness or childbirth, the women of both classes help each other; they cradle and caress each other's children. When trouble breaks out between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law, all the neighboring women of both upper and lower classes come around to help patch up the quarrel. Rich and poor know each other's most intimate affairs and talk about them. They know all about each other's wealth or poverty, for the saying goes that the neighbor is the balance which weighs the neighbor's silver. The daily food of rich and poor is just about the same.

The intimacy in the daily family life which derived from the time when nobles and commoners migrated in small nomadic groups with their herds, pitching their tents one next the other, became more and more conventional when they settled down in small villages, and made it possible to bridge the chasm separating upper and lower classes in the official administrative hierarchy; but long before commoners were allowed to participate in the administration, the way had been prepared by the close familiarity in all the small hamlets between women of the two groups in the orbit of the family.

In such problems the overwhelming influence of the women and children is often overlooked. The first step in the leveling of social conditions between nobles and commoners was not set by any order of the T'u-ssu, but by the women and children in their daily familiar life.

The distance between rich and poor families in such a society as that of the Monguors is not so marked as in our society. The sons of the rich work in the fields just like the sons of the poor. They work side by side with the hired men. In the same way the daughters-in-law and daughters of the rich do all the household chores, and go to the fields to do the weeding and to bring in the harvest, as do the wives and daughters of the poor. Only on holidays are they better dressed and decked out with nicer jewelry.

Rich nobles and rich commoners alike hire four or five extra men to till their fields. They keep flocks of one hundred or two hundred sheep, herds of forty or fifty cows, and feed ten or more donkeys, two or three teams of mules, and one hundred or more horses, of which a couple are fast and handsome.

The man of ordinary standing hires one or two men, has fifty or one hundred sheep, ten or twenty cows, some donkeys, and a couple of mules and always has a fast, fine horse. Poor families working for the rich people earn some money and some grain and from some of the fields that they cultivate for the rich keep the harvests for themselves. With the herds of their employer they put a few sheep and a couple of cows or donkeys of their own. Sometimes they have a couple of days off to till their own small fields with the draft animals of their employer. They are dealt with in the

621 184 same way as members of the family, and the relations between employer and hired men are familiar and cordial.

In short there are among the nobles honorable families living in affluence, and among the commoners there are the same kind of fine families. There are among both nobles and commoners less honorable families and even dishonorable ones, addicted to opium, gambling, and the whole train of attendant vices that go with these depravities. Since most families are absorbed with the struggle for life, however, they have little time left to indulge in extravagant vices. Although the villages are not beds of roses, the sociability of life among the Monguors is an attractive feature of their society.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIALS

621 The highest official in the village is the village chief or headman. Next come the two military commanders, called Ch'ien-tsong and Pa-tsong,[2] and finally the elders. The chief of the village is responsible to the T'u-ssu for his villagers. His powers are granted to him by the T'u-ssu, on the recommendation of the elders. The institution of the office of village chief dates from after the settling down of the Monguors under Ming rule. It was an innovation and an adaptation to a new economic and social status.

In the case of the two military ranks the tradition runs that in former times all the chiefs of villages were nobles who had been appointed as military commanders and who had jurisdiction over administrative as well as military matters. The clan institution having become during, and even before, the Mongol Empire a military institution, all subjects of the clan were enrolled in one or another military unit. No surviving tradition explains the present subordination of the military officers in the village to the village chief; but this subordination must have gone against the grain of the old Mongol military tradition—especially since the chief of the village may be a commoner, not a noble—and it may well be therefore that this subordination began under the Ming dynasty and was a mark of Chinese preference for civil authority over the Mongol tradition of military supremacy.

The institution of village elders may be regarded as a survival from the nomad past of the Monguors. Nomad clans once lived and thrived without chiefs, but never

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[2] These two terms are local patois for the Chinese terms Ch'ien-chang and Pai-chang, "commander of a thousand" and "commander of a hundred," which in turn are translations of traditional Mongol terms. It should be noted that since the Monguor villages of recent times do not produce a thousand men at a time to place under a commander, we have here an illustration of the very common phenomenon of the degeneration of titles by stages which may be described as (*a*) high rank; (*b*) high-sounding rank; (*c*) humdrum rank, with no consciousness, in the minds of those who daily use the title, of its original significance. Mongol history is full of this degeneration of titles and honorifics, especially when they are borrowed Chinese terms.—O. L.

621 without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

622 The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.[8]

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

701 The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

[796] At New Year the village chief and the two military
[430] commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar,
622 raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of
701 red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men

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[8] It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors) or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O. L.

[P. 76 b]

622 701 represent the village in preparing and managing all celebrations held at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, such as the investiture, marriages, and funerals, the "opening of the seal," and the yearly diet or assembly. They also preside over the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages. Together with the elders they execute justice within the village, carry on the day-to-day administration, defend the rights of the villagers in their relations with the T'u-ssu, and of course oppose all enroachments on their own privileges.

623 The elders are appointed by the T'u-ssu himself, for an indefinite period of time. The T'u-ssu selects them from among the outstanding heads of families among nobles and commoners. Most of them are commoners; some are Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clan. In former times they were granted by the T'u-ssu a copper button to be worn on top of the hat. All matters concerning administration of the village, the apportioning of taxes, and difficulties among the villagers are discussed between the elders, the chief of the village and the two military commanders. Of them all, it is the elders who carry the most weight.

The elders can delegate some of their powers by appointing young commoners to assist the chief of the village, to organize meetings, to summon the villagers, on necessity, and to collect taxes.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

623 184 Meetings are the specific form of administration. The villagers are not administered by a small group of autocrats who hold themselves in aloof dignity. All topics of interest to the villagers are discussed in meetings attended by them. At these meetings everybody is allowed to express his views and to defend his rights. Very often the atmosphere of meetings is one of violent agitation and high excitement. It will be recalled that in the ancient form of pastoral nomad government under tribal elders, final decisions were made only after the heads of families had had their say at public meetings. The Monguors, in spite of the passage of many centuries, and after having adopted a sedentary farming economy, still conserve this tradition of their old administrative routine. The public meetings are part of the specific character of government in a Monguor village.

These meetings are not held in the central stronghold built by order of the Chinese, and very seldom in the courtyard of the temple of the village, but in the open air. Every village has its designated place of assembly. Some villagers hold their meetings on the large threshing floor of a particular hamlet of the village; others at a fixed spot in the main valley; others at the foot of a mountain, etc. This tradition of a customary place of assembly, as well as the form of administration, bespeaks the old nomadic customs of the Monguors.

TOPICS OF THE MEETINGS

623 651 The most important and delicate topic of discussion at meetings is always the subject of taxes. These taxes are decreed by the T'u-ssu as a lump sum imposed on the entire village. The villagers have then to group themselves by wealth in five classes and to pay more or less taxes according to this classification. The classification of families is a very difficult and delicate problem. In the discussion everybody asserts that he is, and proves himself to be, the poorest man in the village, deserving to be put in the lowest classification. The tax imposed on the village is compared with the taxes on other villages, and the chief of the village is criticized for not having defended the interests of his village. These meetings also fix the date on which the taxes have to be ready either to be carried by the villagers in a group to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, or to be ready for the nobles who come to collect them. Illegal and oppressive exactions by the officials of the T'u-ssu and difficulties with the collecting nobles are discussed, and entrusted to the chief of the village for redress or for conciliation with the T'u-ssu.

623 312 Another important topic is the digging or repairing of irrigation canals. The number of digging days required from each family is adjusted to the amount of land each family cultivates. Quarrels are patched up with families accused of having kept the water from the canal turned into their fields for longer than the allotted time. The proper time is calculated by the time taken to burn a certain number of incense sticks for the irrigation of a determined acreage of fields.

623 651 794 At these meetings the contributions of every family are fixed for the expenses of keeping the village temple in repair and payments to the shamans who perform the two important rites of spring and of protection against storms and hail, and of thanksgiving for the harvest.[4] An apportionment is also made of the liability of members for all kinds of corvées, or obligatory services, religious as well as administrative. The groups of youngsters must be ready day and night to stay in and even sleep in the temple in order to avert the danger of hail and storms in summer. Duties must be assigned also for taking care of the sacred animal of the village, and for preparing the performance of all kinds of religious rites carried out on behalf of the village. Villagers must also be designated for all kinds of corvée service at the mansion of the T'u-ssu.

622 627 The officials must also be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems in the private lives of the villagers (except family vengeance feuds). If a villager has got himself into difficulties or is burdened with troubles not of his own making he goes to the chief of the village, presents to him a scarf of felicity and a bottle of wine, and invites him to iron out the problem. The chief

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[4] The religious aspects of Monguor life will be discussed in a second volume, now being prepared for publication.

622 627 sends one of his assistants to invite the elders and summons the defendant. If the problem is important, the military commanders are also invited. Problems of this kind include delimitation of the boundaries of fields—a kind of arbitration case often made necessary by contracts drafted ambiguously by incapable men. Cases of dividing a paternal inheritance are often laborious and consume many days. The whole community is interested in such cases. [681] In personal quarrels, disputes, and fights the offending party may be flogged with up to one hundred stripes. If the complainant has been wounded, the defendant is condemned, in addition, to defray the expenses for the doctor and for medicine and to pay indemnity for a fixed number of days of recuperation.

685 Stealing seems to be an ineradicable evil among the Monguors, and stealing of animals is the worst of all. The Monguors still seem to have the old attitude toward thieving and the stealing of animals, although thieves are severely punished. Among the neighboring nomads, when a man is caught red-handed stealing animals, he is taken to a lonely spot, the tendons of his ankle joints are cut, and he is left, crippled, to die on the spot. The nomads show no pity for cattle thieves. The Monguors do not punish as cruelly and do not inflict capital punishment, but the thief has his hands bound behind his back and is then hung by the thumbs, until he loses consciousness. Water is then poured on his head. When he recovers consciousness, the same sport is repeated two or three times. He is then flogged with up to five hundred stripes, or even more. If a thief is caught the second time, he is sent to the T'u-ssu's prison, and when he emerges from jail, he is a wreck of his former self—provided he escapes at all, by bribing the guards.

People who steal sheaves from the field at harvest time are flogged with up to fifty or one hundred stripes and are led through the village, the sheaves on their back, [865] crying the whole way long that they are guilty. Boys accused by their parents of disobedience are flogged in the same way, after having been forced to apologize to their parents.

684 In cases of adultery the guilty pair, if caught *in flagrante delictu*, are flogged with up to one hundred stripes or more. The woman is beaten on her bare back with rawhide lash, the man on his bare buttocks and thighs. Apologies are made to the injured husband. A sheep or pig is brought to his home. Fire crackers are set off. The guilty pair ask a guarantor to speak for their proper conduct in the future. An official statement is written attesting the fact of adultery and the supplication for pardon. The two guilty persons place their right thumbs on an inked pad and then make an impression with the thumb on the statement. They are then led through the village, two drums beating before them, while they confess their guilt.

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Once in a while a young woman runs away from her

684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement. 583 Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

525 681 593 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the offenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle"[5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

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585 [5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

[p 78b]

627 mother of his son. The peddler was accompanied by the brother of the girl's father who had a grudge against him. The girl of the girdle did not even recognize the peddler, but since her son had always been called Li, and since she herself had for five or six years always been called Mrs. Li, the peddler, with the girl's uncle as "witness," threatened to accuse her and her husband in a Chinese court. Hou, afraid of the terrible expenses consequent on involvement in a Chinese court action—which in any case might not save him his beloved concubine—preferred to settle the trouble by compromise. He invited the chief of the village and the elders, his maternal uncle and some of his friends, and after a long "interesting" meeting, crowded with the most ticklish details, it was decided that Hou should pay 160 strings of cash to the presumed father and apologize, bringing the traditional offering of a sheep with paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cloth on its back—all to the accompaniment of firecrackers.

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627 The second case concerned the kidnapping of a widow. In theory it is up to a widow to make her own decision about a second marriage, but at the same time the custom exists of kidnapping the widow when she is conducted at night to the home of her second husband. In Sopokou[6] lived the widow of Hla Reng. A man named Chang, of Ch'ichialin, who intended to marry her, heard that she had already consented to marry a man named Li, and that they had exchanged girdles as tokens of their mutual consent.

Chang, unwilling to give up the widow, called together thirty or more youngsters with clubs, in order to kidnap her on her way to her second husband. But having been misled about the day of her departure, and finding no widow along the road, Chang and his gang decided that she must be still at her old home, and resolved to kidnap her there. Among the kidnappers was her own nephew, who, being familiar with the house of his aunt was charged with keeping the watchdog quiet. The group entered, smashing the door, and at the same time the candle inside the room was blown out. The woman was hurriedly seized and gagged, and a piece of red cloth wrapped around her head. Four men carried her out and lifted her onto a mule. A man jumped up behind her on the mule, holding her around the body, and the armed group in deep silence, at full speed, riding by side roads, in the dead of night, reached the home of Chang.

Then, consternation! The nephew recognized that the kidnapped woman was not his aunt, but the wife of a neighbor who had been staying for a few days with the widow. In the scurry and confusion, the widow had hidden herself in the corner of the room under some sacks. The whole group apologized and offered to take

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[6] A name probably meaning "Needle Valley," from Monguor *subuge*, "needle" (de Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*); but possibly from Mongol *subag*, "a canal."—O. L.

583 the woman back to her husband that very same night. But the clever woman refused, and nobody dared to
627 touch her again. At dawn the funny story spread like a prairie fire all over the country. The most stoic elders who had not laughed for years burst into peals of merriment. The chief of the village and the elders restrained the furious husband from bringing an action at the Chinese court. On the threshing floor the problem was tackled with the whole village in attendance. The decision was that the wife should be brought back home, preceded by a group of musicians and a sheep with paper pasted on its horns, a piece of red cloth on its back and firecrackers going off all along the road, and that a dinner should be prepared for the husband, the chief of the village and the elders.

An elder of the village, a celebrated patcher-up of troubles, told me that cases of kidnapping are usually not so dramatic. Most of the time, if a widow is being compelled to marry a man she does not like, and if she already has a man friend, she notifies him about the time and the circumstances of her departure, and he kidnaps her on the way, often after a severe fight. Later, on the threshing floor, after she has testified that she will marry her friend and that they have already exchanged girdles, the friend is required to reimburse the disappointed suitor for all his expenses and whatever part of the bride price he has already paid for the widow. (The marriage price for a widow is paid in two installments, one before she leaves home and one after she has reached the home of her new husband.) But when a widow is kidnapped against her own will, and refuses to marry the kidnapper, the decision made on the threshing floor by the chief of the village and the elders goes in her favor.

627 All cases are exposed and discussed in the open air, with all the villagers in attendance including youngsters and children, who thus get their social and family education through naked facts. The veil of privacy is ripped from all the miseries and realities of life before the eyes of the young, who are more sophisticated in such social knowledge than people in the Western world. A record of each case is filed in the "archives" of the chief of the village, and four strings of cash are set aside, to be offered to the T'u-ssu at the time of his triennial visit.

623 In most villages the influence wielded by the elders is remarkable. There are very few quarrels they are unable to patch up. Their skill seems to be based on long experience and a flair for grasping the core of problems rooted in the passions of human nature. They are supported by the reverence and esteem cultivated in the family circle for old age, which ensures attendance at their meetings and respect for their opinions. This kind of authority is even more important than the support they receive from the T'u-ssu. At the same time the fact that their meetings are public, and that the villagers can freely state their opinions and defend their rights puts pressure on the elders to act according to justice and in conformity with accepted opinion. Plaintiffs and de-

623 fendants unwilling to abide by the decision of the elders may have recourse to the T'u-ssu; but his verdict very seldom differs from that of the elders.

577 184 From the foregoing it can be seen that the concepts of the Monguors seem to be based on custom, tradition, and what community opinion accepts as "just." Typical concepts are: wrongs are to be righted; injustices to be corrected; the rights of parents over their children, of husbands over their wives, and of widows to dispose of themselves, are to be asserted and defended; private property is to be protected; no one has the right to disturb the peace of the community. It is apparent also that among the Monguors the villagers in reality govern themselves. Although the elders are backed by the authority of the T'u-ssu, it is the villagers themselves who for the most part patch up their own quarrels, punish faults, right wrongs, and keep the peace.

The system is, in effect, one of democracy. It is only when these democratic practices do not work that recourse is had to the aid and protection of the T'u-ssu.

181 At the village meetings on the threshing floor, overwhelming stress is placed on faithful adherence to the old customs. One of the most important duties of village chiefs is to watch over their observance. The T'u-ssu, on his triennial visit, always makes inquiries on this subject, on which conservatism can be truly called hidebound. When Monguors, especially of the older generation, are heatedly discussing matters of the village, and the supreme argument of "old custom" is brought up, all opposition instantly subsides. The chiefs and elders of villages and the heads of families always urge the observance of traditions. They are firmly convinced that neglect of ancestral custom ruins the stability and prosperity of the clan. On every occasion the younger generation has this injuction dinned into its ears. The chiefs of the villages will curse other chiefs of villages, and T'u-ssu who are careless of old custom. The test of a good village chief or T'u-ssu is unshakable firmness in strict observance of the clan traditions as if they were as unyielding as the laws of nature.

177 When the Chinese Republic began in 1911, however, new ideas which had a baneful repercussion on the minds of young Monguors started to spread. It was almost a hopeless struggle for the elders to try to save the old customs. It then became apparent that the Monguors were in fact not sufficiently insulated from the pressure exerted by new ideas from outside their own society. Their social concepts had gradually been undermined and weakened by the enrollment of Chinese in their clans. Chinese concepts had, unnoticeably, long been seeping into their thought—Chinese had, it must be remembered, risen to be even village elders—and a situation had gradually been created in which the Chinese way of thinking, even if conservative in itself, was disruptive of the old Monguor concepts if it differed from Monguor concepts.

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LIMITS OF AUTHORITY OF THE VILLAGE OFFICIALS

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While the village officials are expected to deal with all possible disturbances of the peace, there are limits to their authority. The commoners, being the subjects of the T'u-ssu, who merely delegates his powers to the officials whom he appoints, have the right to appeal to him. The appeal, however, can be made only after punishment has been inflicted, in view of the fact that the commoner is also subject to the village authorities. The form of appeal to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, therefore, is not "the village authorities *intend to be* unjust to me," but "they *have been* unjust to me." The remedy, therefore, calls not merely for preventing the carrying out of a sentence wrongly imposed, but for punishing the lower authority for a mistake made and executed. This view of the working of legal machinery is not peculiarly Monguor; it is Chinese, and indeed found in many Asian societies.

The jurisdiction of the chief of the village is, therefore, limited in two directions. He is circumscribed by custom in his authority over the villagers, and subordinate to the T'u-ssu. On his triennial visit the T'u-ssu always inquires into the administration of the officials, the suits that have been brought before them, and the way in which they have dealt with them. The outlook on these matters of Monguor society as a whole seems to be rooted in the blunt fact that the commoners are descendants of subjected tribes which might have been exterminated by their conquerors, and for which the price of survival was to become the "possessions" of the victors. The ordinary commoner, with only a confused idea about the history of his condition, knows only that he is completely subject to his T'u-ssu, to be ruled according to the customs of the clan.

In most matters the interests of each village are confined to its own territory, the payment of its own taxes, the support of its own quota of soldiers, the providing of its share of the additional levies for marriages and funerals in the T'u-ssu's family, and for the investiture of the T'u-ssu. If for any reason a village feels that it has a complaint to make, it makes its petition at the yearly assembly, or at the time of the ceremony of the opening of the seal, when all the chiefs of villages are gathered around the T'u-ssu.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VILLAGES

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To the extent that villages have few affairs in common, it is easy to be good neighbors. The most frequent cause of trouble between villages is dependence on the same irrigation canal, because villages using the same canal are jointly responsible for its yearly maintenance and for emergency repairs after floods.

Most village irrigation canals tap streams running from the mountains to the Hsining River or the Yellow River. The canals are divided into sections. In a typical case, the take-off section from the mountain

621 312 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 312 628 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 628 778 Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 834 533 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

V. FAMILY LIFE

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

596 The general principles of the Monguor family system have already been given above in Chapter III, and need here be recapitulated only very briefly. Until 1911–1922, when these notes were made, the Monguor family was a patrilineal, extended, patrilocal family. The extended family was under the authority of the grandfather, or of the great-grandfather if he survived. No family of which I had any knowledge exceeded four generations. The whole extended family lives in dwellings grouped around a common courtyard. The property and wealth are collectively owned by the whole group, but with authority over the property unequally concentrated in the senior generation. This manner of life is graphically described by the Monguors in expressions (used also by the Chinese and possibly borrowed from the Chinese) as "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." While these sayings may be borrowed from the Chinese, the underlying principle, that of the hearth and the fire-spirit of the hearth, belongs independently to the nomad tradition from which the Monguors are descended.

Conversely, the break-up of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families composing the extended family sets up its own kitchen, hearth, and chimney and begins to cook its own food separately. This means that it is parting from the extended family to which it belongs and founding a new extended family. The son who thus sets up separately becomes independent of the orders of the senior whom he formerly acknowledged as head of his family; he is beginning to work for himself and to retain any money that comes into his hands, instead of turning it over to the head of the family. When a son begins to act in this independent manner, the neighbors gossip, the family itself is uneasy, and it is recognized that the old family is breaking up.

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587 It should not be assumed that polygamy is a regular characteristic of the extended family. Polygamy is very decidedly an economic question. On the one hand, polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard, because it gives rise to quarrels among wives, and on the other hand there are few Monguors who are economically able to afford a household with more than one wife. If one of the sons living in the common courtyard should venture to ask the head of the family to provide him with a concubine (perhaps because his wife is barren) all the other daughters-in-law are jealous and their husbands share with them because they feel that the cost of the concubine means that the favored brother is being given more than his share of the family's [762] capital. If the tormenting of the other daughters-in-law should drive the concubine to despair, she might commit suicide; and a suicide always means the complete ruin of the family.

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596 587 Theoretically, it might be argued that a son who had left the extended family to live separately would be free to take a concubine. In practice, he is rarely able to do so because the commonest reason for leaving the extended family is that it has become too poor to support all its members. The son who is starting life separately is, therefore, usually starting as a man too poor to afford a concubine.

587 Polygamy is, however, not frowned on in the case of a small family consisting of husband and wife, economically well off but without children. In order to prevent the line from dying out, thus breaking the continuity in the ancestor-cult, it is quite proper to take a concubine, even if the couple has already adopted a child. Polygamy is also not unusual in a small family in which there are children, if the family are well off; in such cases, if the wife does not object, her husband takes a concubine and the concubine helps her in her housework.

In one case in my experience, in a rich family consisting of husband, wife, and one son, who was already married, the mother objected to her husband taking a concubine, but did not mind arranging for a second wife for her son; the arrangement was one that provided an extra worker in the family.

The Monguors make a distinction between polygamy, as described above, and the levirate. In a family in which there are several sons, all of them married and having children, if one of the sons dies, the widow becomes the second wife of one of his brothers (usually a younger brother). The distinction between the levirate and polygamy is clear. Polygamy requires the expenditure of family funds for the acquisition of a second wife or concubine. In the levirate, the bride-price has already been paid; if the widow should leave the family in order to marry an outsider of her choice, she would be a loss to the family and it is proper, therefore, to make an arrangement that keeps her in the family. The levirate is, however, only practiced when brothers are still living together in the extended family, and when the widow consents.

THE FAMILY CHIEF

592 611 The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head of the family. If at this moment the extended family should break up, instead of continuing to live together, the eldest son is privileged to receive a larger share of the fields and cattle forming the common property, and his own eldest son shares this privilege, also receiving a cow or horse, or a field. This rule of succession and inheritance is followed by both nobles and commoners.

592 In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. He repre-

592 sents the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

592 796 769 Apart from religious practices within the family, the head of the family must also attend when shamanistic ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

592 471 In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. All money coming to any member of the family must be deposited with him. Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

[553] 592 He is of course the one who decides on the arrangements for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege to give names not only to his own children but to grandchildren. He is expected to be just and even-handed in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging

592 681 to the family. In the event that a member of his own family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

592 When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical

592 work. He entertains the guests, the other members of the family keep respectfully apart. At dinner, he and his wife occupy the places of honor and his food is served to him first. His prestige and the respect shown to him are, however, modified by the necessity for earning respect by proper conduct of the affairs of the family.

BREAKUP OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY

596 The usual time for the breaking up of an extended family is at the death of the grandfather. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More often, the sons divide the property and each one builds his own "chimney"; if he has grown sons of his own, he is already the founder of a new extended family. It is difficult for the oldest son to hold the family together, because, although he has a certain authority, it is not so great as that of a man of a senior generation. It is also at this moment that old quarrels among the wives of the various sons are likely to flare up; each woman, moreover, is eager to seize the opportunity to be recognized as the wife of the head of a new family, exercising authority in her own right over her sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren. I have often been told by old men that wives have a bigger stake in founding new families at this moment than do their husbands.

As an example we may take the case of a grandfather who has four sons, each of whom has three or more children. At the grandfather's death, it becomes apparent that the four brothers have different and uncongenial personalities—one perhaps is lazy, making the others feel that they are doing his share of the work and supporting his family for him, while another may be quarrelsome or avaricious. With the authority of the grandfather removed, it also becomes evident that each of the four sisters-in-law has her own personality; or perhaps one has several children and another, having only one, feels that life in the common courtyard means that she has more than her fair share of the household work and helping to look after other people's children. In short, it would be revealed that although there had been unity and harmony in the family during the ten or fifteen years that the grandfather had ruled it with tact, patience, and love for his children and grandchildren, there had nevertheless been underlying strains which, after his death, became strong enough to break up the family. While it is for such reasons that it is extremely rare to find an extended family of four generations holding together after the death of the grandfather, a few such families do hold together, not so much because of family affection as for economic reasons. The moment that an extended family begins to fall apart, its creditors appear, because once they have separated the individual families will no longer acknowledge mutual responsibility. If the extended family is so deeply in debt that after a settlement there would not be enough to divide among the separating families, it may

596 go on living as a group even though the new head of the family is not obeyed as he should be and each component man-and-wife family is jealous and resentful of the others.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW FAMILIES

Continuing with the example of the four brothers who have been taken as a typical case of the breaking up of an extended family, it will be found that there are no dramatic ceremonies ratifying the establishment of the four new "chimneys." Sometimes the man who is establishing his own "chimney" will kill a sheep, invite some elders and his maternal uncle, offer them wine, and receive their good wishes for a happy future, while his sons and daughters-in-law and the grandchildren prostrate themselves before him and his wife. Thereafter, four new "chimneys" are registered in the archives of the village instead of one.

Generally speaking, it can be said that family ties among the Monguors are not as binding as they used to be. There is an increasing tendency to separate into small families. The bonds and associations of the clan have resisted change more successfully than the extended family.

596 888 Certain aspects of the family, however, remain strong, especially the gradation of respect according to seniority of generation. Children, from their earliest years, are accustomed to seeing each generation show respect to the generations senior to it, especially on formal occasions such as funerals, marriages, the installation of the chief of the clan, and all ceremonies connected with veneration of the ancestors. They grow up accustomed to this kind of respect, which is as important in the community and the clan as it is in the family. The result is a social outlook in which the individual is subordinated to the family and the community.

CLASSIFICATION OF KINSHIP

601 In the classification of relationship, the Monguors use the same term for all members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Thus, I address as "grandfather" not only my own grandfather, but all his brothers and the sons of his father's brothers. The term is *adie*, with differentiation of *sge* ("big") for those members of this class who are older than my grandfather, and *mula* ("little") for those who are younger. Similarly, I address as *anie* not only my own grandmother but the wives of all the men whom I address as "grandfather," with the same distinction of "big" and "little" for those who are older or younger than my actual grandmother. This term *anie*, which is also the polite expression for "madame," I likewise apply not only to the "grandmothers" who are married to my "grandfathers," but to my grandfather's sisters, because they have the same clan name that he has. In other words, his "sisters" are not only his father's daughters but the daughters of his father's brothers—

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but not the daughters of his father's sisters, because these women have the names of the clans into which their mothers married, different from the name of my clan.

All the men of the generation of my father, according to the same system of identification, I address as *ada, awu,* or *aba,* the terms for "father." In addressing them, I also remember to use the distinction between "big" and "little" according to age. There is, however, one special term: the youngest brother of my father I address as *aga.*

The wives of all those whom I address as "father" I address as *ama* or *ani,* the terms for "mother." In addition to distinguishing between them as "big" and "little" according to age, I address the first wife of one of my fathers as "big" and his concubine as "little."

All the sisters of my father I address as *agu* and their husbands I address as *ayu.*

In my own generation, my brothers include the sons of my father's brothers and my sisters include the daughters of my father's brothers; but the sons and daughters of my father's sisters are not my brothers and sisters. In the brother class, those who are older than I are *aga,* and are classified as "big" and "little" according to whether they are older or younger than each other. Those in the brother classification who are younger than I are my *diu,* and I also make the "big" and "little" distinction according to whether they are older or younger than each other. The general term for "brothers" is *aga-diu.*

Among the wives of my brothers, I call those who are the wives of my elder brothers *bergan* and those who are the wives of my younger brothers *diu bieri.*

Among my own sisters, I call those who are older than I *k'ad'zi* and those who are younger than I *fud'züin diu.* The general term for those in my sister-class is *k'ad'zi-diu.* The husbands of my sisters I call *kurgen aga,* or *kurgen diu,* according to whether they are senior or junior to me.

If I want to make distinctions in describing those who are in my brother-class, I call those who are the sons of my own father *nige awni aga diu* ("elder and younger brothers of one father"); those who are the actual grandsons of my actual grandfather *nige adieni aga diu* ("elder and younger brothers of one grandfather"); and those who are the grandsons of men in my grandfather-class *khulo aga diu* ("remote elder and younger brothers").

I call *k'u* not only my own sons but the sons of all those in my brother-class, even the most remote.

The wives of my sons I call *k'u bieri.*

I call *fud'züin* not only my own daughters but the daughters of all my brothers. The husbands of my daughters I call *k'urgen.* The sons of my sisters, however, I call *dzie k'u* and the daughters of my sisters I call *dzie fudzüin.* In this respect the usage of the Monguors is like that of the Chinese, who call the

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60 children of their sisters "outside" relatives, because they bear a different clan name.

My grandsons and all the boys in my grandson-class I call *sun dze k'u* and their wives I call *sun dze bieri.*

My granddaughters and all girls in my granddaughter-class I call *sun dze fu d'zün* and their husbands *sun dze fud'zün k'urgen.*

My maternal uncles, both the actual brothers of my own mother and the brothers of all those who are in my mother-class, I call *nage* or *adziu.*

My mother's sisters I call *anie* ("madame") and their husbands I call *ayu.*

My wife I call *ndani bieri* ("our wife") and she calls me *ndani k'un* ("our man") or *dzanguidie,* "boss," a Chinese loan-word. She may also call me *daxu,* the Monguor term for "boss," or she may address me as "father of my children." If however I should have occasion to beat my wife she will, in appealing for mercy, call me *ago* or "elder brother."

Those who are in the grandfather class of my wife I call *gadim adie,* with distinctions of "big" and "little." Those in the grandmother class of my wife I call *gadim anie,* with distinctions between "big" and "little." Those in my wife's father-class I call *gadim ada* (or *awa,* or *aba*). Those in my wife's mother-class I call *gadim awa* or *gadim anie.*

Those in my wife's brother-class, according to whether they are older or younger than she, I call *gadim aga* or *gadim diu.* Those in my wife's sister-class I call, following the same principle, *gadim k'a d'zi* or *gadim fu d'zün diu.*

My wife calls all those in my brother-class, according to whether they are older or younger than I, *aga* or *diu.* Those in my sister-class she calls, on the same principle, *kadzi* or *fud'zün diu.* The wives of those in my brother-class who are older than I she calls *biergan,* and those who are younger, *diu bieri;* speaking about them with other people, she adds *gadim,* "in-law relative." Two families whose son and daughter marry call themselves *gudor.*

The classificatory system is observed even in the most ordinary family conversation. Thus a father, wanting to send for one of his brothers, will say to a child "call your big father (i.e. my elder brother)" or "call your little father (i.e. my younger brother)." In the same way, if he wants to send for the wife of his elder brother he says "call your big mother." Even children, playing together, speak to each other as "older brother" or "younger brother." Out of courtesy, and because of the universal respect for old age, the classificatory terms are also used "artificially"; old people are addressed as "grandmother," "great-uncle," or "great aunt," even when they are not related.

GLOSSARY OF KINSHIP TERMS

The following glossary is drawn from De Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire monguor-français,* as already

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cited. A simplified transcription is used, instead of that of De Smedt and Mostaert, with its many diacritical marks. References to "Mongol" are to standard written Mongol, using Mostaert's transcription with slight simplification. References to "Ordos" are to contemporary spoken Ordos Mongol as cited in De Smedt and Mostaert in their dictionary, and again in Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, already cited, but using a simplified transcription.

aba: father. *Cf.* Mongol *aba;* Tibetan *'a-pa, 'a-p'a.*

ada: father. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ta;* Turkish *ata.*

adie: grandfather. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-tieh,* grandfather; standard Chinese *tieh,* father.

adieni: possessive of *adie,* grandfather.

ago (also *aguo*)*:* elder brother; term of respect when addressing an equal. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ko,* standard Chinese *ko.*

adzi: elder sister. *Cf.* Chinese *chieh.*

aga: elder brother. Cf. Dagor Mongol *aga,* Mongol *aqa,* Ordos *akha,* Turkish *aga.* N.B. The term *aga,* given in the text above as "youngest brother of my father," is written by De Smedt and Mostaert *āga* (with the first *a* long), and the meaning: "Younger brother of my father."

aga diu: elder and younger brother (i.e. "brothers" as an inclusive term).

agu: paternal aunt: term of respect in addressing women. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ku;* standard Chinese *ku.*

ama: mother. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ma;* Tibetan *'a-ma;* standard Chinese *ma.*

ani: mother. *Cf.* Turkish *ana.*

anie: grandmother. *Cf.* Tibetan *a-ne,* aunt. Also used for "madame."

awa: father. *Cf.* Mongol *aba, abai;* Ordos *awä.*

awni: possessive of *awa,* father.

ayu: husband of a paternal aunt.

bieri: wife, woman. *Cf.* Mongol *beri* and Ordos *bere,* both with the meaning of daughter-in-law, and Kalmuk Mongol *bere,* a young wife.

dakhu: proprietor, master. De Smedt and Mostaert refer, but with a question mark, to Mongol *daruga,* Ordos *daruga* or *dargu.*

diu: younger brother. *Cf.* Mongol *degü,* Ordos *dū.*

dziĕ: child of a sister or a daughter. *Cf.* Mongol *jige,* Ordos *dzĕ.*

fud'zün: girl, young girl. *Cf.* Mongol *ökin,* Ordos *o'k'in.* De Smedt-Mostaert refer to *sdzün* as a synonym (or alternative form) of *fudzün,* with further reference to Shirongol *uchin,* "daughter," and *kuchin* or *uchin dyu,* "younger sister." This suggests that we have here a word of the well-known class that once began with an *h,* lost in modern Mongol but sometimes preserved in archaic dialects (e.g. Mongol *arban,* Dagor *harban,* "ten"). In this case, an *h* or *kh* (*velar*) seems to have been replaced by an *f* (*fud'zün*) or a palatalized *s* (*sdzün*). [p. 85a]

601 *gadim* (also *gadin*): relatives in law having a different clan name; wife's family in relation to husband's, or husband's family in relation to wife's. *Cf.* Mongol *qadum, qadam;* Ordos *khadam.*

k'adzi: elder sister. *Cf.* Mongol *egeci,* Ordos *egetshi. K'adzi diu,* elder and younger sisters; sisters in general.

khulo: far, distant, remote. *Cf.* Mongol *qola,* Ordos *kholo.*

k'ü: son, boy. *Cf.* Mongol *köbegün,* Ordos *k'ü.*

k'urgen: son-in-law. *Cf.* Mongol *kürgen,* Ordos *k'urgen.*

mula: little, younger, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *miltagar,* flattened.

nagė: maternal uncle. *Cf.* Mongol *nagai,* Ordos *nagä.*

ndāni: genitive plural of the first person.

sge: great, honorable, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *yeke,* Ordos *ikhe.*

sundze (written *sun dze* in text, above): grandson. *Cf.* Chinese *sun-tze.*[1a]

NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILY

594 It must not be thought however that children are unable to distinguish between their actual parents and their "classificatory" parents in the extended family. The mother and father and their own children form a well defined "nuclear" family within the extended family. Some authors, in their efforts to stress the importance of the classificatory system, neglect this fact which is obvious to an observer living in actual contact with such a society.[1] The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family, and personal possessions, like clothes and the children's toys, are all kept in this room. A mother sews all the clothes and shoes for her own children. After the main meal of the day, eaten in common with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room. Parents correct and punish their own children, and it is good reason for a quarrel if anybody else dares to punish them. If a child is sick, it calls for its own mother and sleeps beside her. If there is something wrong with the conduct of a woman, the grandfather calls her husband and tells him to discipline his wife and to beat her if need be. Thus the head of the family sets the standard of discipline, but it is the husband who actually exercises discipline. Conversely, if a woman has trouble with other women, she seeks the support of her husband.

603 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather first consults her father and mother before taking action, in his capacity as head of the family, to arrange a match with another family. When such materials as cloth for the making of clothes are to be distributed, it

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[1a] For these terms, compare David F. Aberle, *The kinship system of the Kalmuk Mongols,* Univ. of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, 8, Albuquerque, N. M., Univ. New Mexico Press, 1953, one of the studies completed under the program of Mongol studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

[1] See, for example, M. Granet, *La civilisation chinoise* 1: 185, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[P. 85-6]

603 is the grandmother who makes the distribution, each nuclear family receiving its proper share. When a mother goes on a visit to her own parents in a different village, it is customary for her to take her children with her, and thus they come to know the parents of their mother, and her maternal uncle, very well.

ADOPTION

597 The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family. Its importance in this respect is well exemplified when a childless couple want to adopt a child. The custom is to adopt, if possible, the son of one of the brothers of the husband, who is already a classificatory son and bears by right of birth the same clan name. If this is impossible, the next step is to seek a more remotely related classificatory son from a more distant branch of the husband's family, who, though not so closely related, does have the clan name and a male ancestor in common with his adoptive father. Only if no child of the same blood on the father's side is available is a child of different clan ancestry adopted. I once attended a ceremony of adoption in a case of this kind. The child was a Chinese boy being adopted by a Monguor named Kan 75—Kan being his clan name and 75 his personal name, given to him according to a common custom, because that was the age of his grandmother at the time he was born.[2] The child being adopted was a boy of five or six from a poor Chinese family named Liu, which had several boys and was on intimate terms with the family of Kan 75.

A sheep was killed for the ceremony. Those invited included the maternal uncle of Kan 75, one of his classificatory grandfathers, one of his own brothers, the chief of the village, a Chinese scribe, and myself. The boy was brought by his father, just before noon, and was clothed in rags. He was first taken to the kitchen, where he was washed, his hair combed, and he was fitted out with brand new clothes, boots, and hat. While this was being done, the Chinese scribe wrote a contract in two copies, attesting the fact that the boy was being freely given by the Liu family to be adopted by the Kan family. The contract was signed not only by the boy's father and the adopting father, but by the adopting father's maternal uncle, grandfather, brother, and the chief of the village.

The boy was then brought out and prostrated himself, making the *k'o-t'ou* nine times first to his new maternal uncle, then to his new classificatory great-grandfather, then to his new father and mother, then to his new father's brothers, including classificatory brothers.

The new father then asked his grandfather to give the boy a new and propitious name. The boy knelt

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[2] A comparable custom is known in Outer Mongolia. The father of the Dilowa Hutukhtu was called 86—using, moreover, the Chinese, Bashiliu, not the Mongol, Nayanjurgan—because he was born when his father was 86. *Autobiography*, unpublished, of the Dilowa Hutukhtu.—O. L.

597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 576 264 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grandfather presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables ' each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 272 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 606 291 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always keep some distance between them. When there is a quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

576 606 291 and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

581 858 Because of the veneration of ancestors and the necessity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

582 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 565 The influence of wealth on marriage is of several kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

581 a well-to-do family needing more work done in the
household arranges for a son who is still a child to
565 marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such
marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of
the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The
583 case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the
family for the sake of her working power is that of the
587 poor young man who goes to work in a family not his
own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from
that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires that the young man live in a household where all the male members of the family have status and rights, and he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the family is still living united, but not if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for her new husband to bring her home secretly and at night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road by some other aspiring lover—a practice that seems to indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the past, "fair game."

583 Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with
in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen*.
588 These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl
remains in the family in which she was born, but takes lovers and bears children, who instead of having the clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.[3] Both of these customs appear to have been borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned, conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband are rather rare.[4]

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 The status of the wife is inferior to that of the hus-
band, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights
581 and family property are regarded as belonging primarily

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[3] See above, p. 78, n. 5.

[4] Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou.*

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581

to the male side of the family. When a girl marries, her family is regarded, not as "acquiring" relations-in-law, but as "losing" the girl; hence the fundamental attitude that the husband's family is "buying" the girl and her own family "selling" her. Since by this transfer her labor and productive power are lost to the family in which she was born, the family, in arranging the match, attempts to recover the capital value of the girl and this makes it impossible to consider her wishes in making the marriage. The interests of the family come first. The same considerations apply both to the inheritance of a widow by one of her husband's brothers, and the comparable custom, known to have been observed in the ancient Mongol society from which the Monguors are descended, under which a son inherited the wives of his father, except for his own mother. Both customs can clearly be referred to the view that these women, having been acquired at the expense of the family or clan, must be retained within the family. To the Chinese the idea that a son should inherit his father's secondary wives is abhorrent, and therefore the disappearance of this custom probably began when the Monguors submitted to the Ming dynasty, although the dying out of the custom must also have been encouraged by the decrease of polygamy for reasons that have been described above.

Wives accept their inferior status without resentment. Their individual outlook is conditioned by the social atmosphere in which they have been brought up. When they were children, they realized that women were more proud of bearing sons than daughters. They knew that women who had no sons felt inferior. When they were big enough to work, they lived, worked, and ate in the kitchen with the daughters-in-law, while the male members of their family ate in the main room. Even if an uncle or brother took his meal in the kitchen, he had to be served respectfully by the womenfolk. Girls grew up accustomed to the rule that they could eat only after the men had finished. Consequently, a Monguor girl does not expect to find anything different in the family into which she marries.

Inferior status does not mean that a wife can be considered a slave. On this subject I cannot agree with the many writers who have maintained that among the pastoral nomadic societies of Asia the status of a wife is essentially that of a slave, and that the slave status derives from an anciently universal practice of marriage by capture. We know from history—for example, from the *Secret History of the Mongols*—that wives were captured. We know also that in the marriage customs of the pastoral Mongols of today there are ceremonies or practices that suggest a tradition of marriage by capture. We know also that the capture of women was one of the causes of the chronic warfare among the Mongols of old; but all of this does not prove that capture was the sole and universal method of acquiring wives. The

[p. 88a]

562 chronic warfare among the ancient Mongols and Turks required alliances as well as feuds.

581 Hence the institution, known to be very early, of "pairs" of clans, each regularly taking its wives from the other in a sort of marriage alliance.[5] An association of this kind was a natural basis for alliance in war, since each clan would not only be aiding an ally but contributing to the security of its own daughters.[6]

512 181 Among pastoral nomads the traditional life of the man, especially the married man, is one of long periods of idleness, spent largely in gossip and visiting, alternating with short periods of intense activity—in former times defensive and offensive warfare, and in modern times the periods of migration, especially spring and autumn migration, and the periods spent by a man when he is summoned for obligatory service under the clan or tribal chief. The Monguors, as descendants of nomads, have inherited this tradition. The Monguor men, however, because of the change to an agricultural economy, cannot be quite as lazy as pastoral nomads. Farming cannot be profitable unless the men do their share of the work; but in spite of the example of patient toil set them by their Chinese neighbors, the Monguor men are never as industrious as the Chinese.

512 462 In the home, the kitchen and all things concerning food, the preparation of meals and cleaning up after meals are women's work. Women also collect the fuel, consisting chiefly of the droppings of cows, horses, and sheep, which after being collected have to be dried in the sun until they are combustible. In the early morning when the cocks are still crowing to announce the coming day the wives start working while their husbands go on sleeping. First the wife must go to the well with a wooden cask on her back to fetch water. Then she boils water in the iron cauldron, set in the hearth, to make tea. While she is making the tea she carries hot water to her husband for washing. While the husband is drinking his early morning tea the wife dresses and washes the children, prepares breakfast and carries a

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[5] Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, as cited, 58. "Les Mongols des XIe–XIIIe siècles devaient parfois aller chercher très loin leurs femmes, et s'accorder avec un clan éloigné. En effet, . . . les pâturages étaient distribuées de telle manière chez les anciens Mongols, que souvent on ne recontrait aux alentours aucun répresentant d'un clan étranger. . . . Ceci explique, les réminiscences anciennes aidant, la fréquence des rapts; les femmes etaient enlevées de force chaque fois que l'occasion favorable s'en présentait.

"On relève fréquemment l'usage pour un clan de choisir ses promises dans un autre clan, mais toujours le même. Les membres de ces clans s'accordent mutuellement le titre d' 'allié,' de parent par alliance, '*quda*.' Parfois l'échange des jeunes filles à marier donne lieu à des traités en règle entre clans." (Note that side by side with the word *quda* there is the word which in modern Mongol is *hadam* and in Monguor *gadim*—see the Monguor relationship terms as given above—which expresses "relationship with a woman married into my clan, or a man who has married a woman from my clan."—O. L.)

[6] It is possible that this kind of association also helps to account for the importance of the maternal uncle, as "the man who has interest in both clans."—O. L.

[P. 88 b]

512 462 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 233 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 241 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 294 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 462 592 606 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

603 coming serious. At the same time, a grandmother is a
woman who by age and rank is entitled to be a little
462 cranky and to have her peculiar ways. If she cannot keep
the peace and maintain order among the daughters-in-
592 law, she appeals to the grandfather, who orders the
husband of the woman who is considered at fault to
606 tackle the problem by admonishing his wife or if necessary by beating her.

Generally speaking, however, such little incidents within the family do not turn out to be serious; a daughter-in-law is expected to be demure and obedient, to hold her tongue and not to display jealousy, but at the same time it is considered only human to allow her to display a little bit of "temperament" from time to time.
562 In spite of the fact that Monguor women do very heavy work, they are usually happy and contented and it is the normal thing for husband and wife, even though they did not make their own marriage, to have real respect and love for each other. In their own little family within the extended family husband and wife usually talk everything over together, giving the wife the feeling that she has a responsible part in their joint concerns; while, as for the husband, it is easy for him to be fond of a wife who is so obedient and works so hard.

In public, Monguor women retain enough of the old nomad tradition to be much more free, especially in their attitudes to and conversations with men, than Chinese women. While they are bound by strict rules of etiquette and are likely to be rebuked by their elders, especially at home, if they infringe these rules, they are not in public at a loss how to behave when they encounter a man; they feel perfectly free to talk with him and they do not blush or look in the other direction, as old-fashioned Chinese women used to do. They enjoy going to the big public festivals at the lamaseries, and to the annual assembly of the clan; they like to sit on the grass in mixed groups, men and women together, talking, laughing, singing, watching dances, and making merry. A woman is not embarrassed to sing a song in public; and when she is dressed in her best clothes she likes to stroll, preening herself, through the crowd, displaying her costume and her magnificent headdress. Nor are women afraid to do their own shopping; at the fairs they confidently examine the wares for sale and hold their own in bargaining over prices. In the country Monguors do not consider it shocking to see a man riding to his fields with his wife riding pillion behind him; and during the long and tedious work of weeding man and wife both like to sing in the open air.

It is perhaps worth making a few brief comparisons between the status of men and women in the Monguor society and in the greater Mongol society from which the Monguors derive. In the thirteenth century William of Rubruck reported of the Mongols that:

> It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and

562 *gruit*[7] and to dress and sew skins, which they do with a thread made of tendons. They divide the tendons into fine shreds, and then twist them into one long thread. They also sew the boots, the socks, and the clothing. . . . They also make the felt and cover the houses.

> The men make bows and arrows, manufacture stirrups and bits, make saddles, do the carpentering on [the framework of] their dwellings and the carts, they take care of the horses, milk the mares, churn the *cosmos* or mares' milk, make the skins in which it is put; they also look after the camels and load them. Both sexes look after the sheep and the goats, sometimes the men, other times the women, milking them.[8]

Marco Polo, later in the thirteenth century, wrote:

> And I tell you that the Tartar ladies trade, buy and sell and do all the work that is needed for their lords and family and for themselves.[9]

462 These comparisons are enough to show that the Monguors, both men and women, in spite of the change to agriculture, continue to divide their specialized work much as they did when they were still nomads. The men repair houses, saddles and harness for horses, mules, and donkeys; make the tools used for farming, and tan skins. In their leisure time men spin thread and twist cords and ropes. Women never kill sheep, pigs, or chickens; butchering and killing are done only by men. The fact that men do rather less work in the fields than the women has already been mentioned.

LEGENDS OF THE PAST

562 Other characteristics that Monguor women inherit from the nomad past are the ability to make decisions and take responsibility and the courage, in time of need, to fight as boldly as men. In the late twelfth century when Yesugei Bagatur, the father of Chingis Khan, was poisoned by some of his enemies, most of his followers

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[7] *Gruit* is Rubruck's rendering of the Mongol word *hurud*, from which comes the Russian word *krut*.—O. L.

[8] *The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world*, 1253–55, with two accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de Carpine, translated and edited by W. W. Rockhill, 75–76, London, 1890. Rockhill footnotes with cross-references to Pian de Carpine. The word *cosmos* is, of course, the well known word *kumys*, which is Turkish rather than Mongol. See also Lama Galsan-Gomboev, *O drevnikh mongol'skikh obychayakh i sueveriyakh, opisannykh u Plano-Karpini*, in *Trudy*, Eastern Section, Imperial Archaeological Society, 4, St. Petersburg, 1859, for comparisons of thirteenth century survivals and echoes in Mongolia.—O. L.

[9] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.* In the Russian original, Vladimirtsov quoted from Pauthier's 1865 edition of Marco Polo. In the French edition, the translator adds the quotation as here given from the 1938 edition of Marco Polo by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot 1: 169, London, Routledge, 1938. To these citations may be added the generalized description of pastoral nomadism in W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, 236, 524. For the Mongols of the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, see P. Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, cited, 102. For the Manchus and Tungus, whose ancient habitat was in the forest rather than the open grassland, see S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 263, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1933; also the same, *Social organization of the Manchus*, already cited, 105, 122

562 deserted, but his widow "was a woman of wisdom and decision. She assembled the small number of men that had remained loyal, raised the banner with the signs of Yesugei Bagatur, and started in pursuit of the seceders. She succeeded even in making part of them return . . ." [10] and though she failed in the end, her courage has remained a Mongol legend. Similarly, Shirokogoroff notes of the Khingan Tungus in Manchuria that "even the women maintain the clan honor and fight if necessary." [11]

562 173 The women of the Monguors have legends that are in this tradition. I have recorded one of them in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen,* describing the captivating song sung at Monguor marriages and at all festivals, recalling the daring exploit of the wife of the chief of the Lu clan, who killed a brigand chief and was rewarded by the emperor. The story goes that the country between Liangchou and P'ingfan was infested by the brigand Ta Kuan-ch'ün [12] and his followers and all communications between the two cities were cut. In this crisis, the wife of the Lu T'u-ssu lured the bandits into an ambush. She pitched a tent, spread red felt rugs out on the ground, and dressed some of her maids in transparent gowns. Wearing golden bracelets, playing musical instruments, and singing local songs, they "welcomed" the bandits. When the bandits were drunk, the maids beat copper cooking cauldrons as a signal and the soldiers who had been lying in ambush rushed out and loaded the chief of the bandits, his lieutenants, and seven others with chains. When the captives recovered from their drunken stupor and began to struggle, the soldiers flogged them to death, cut off their heads, and set them up on posts along the highway of Wuchaoling. The brother of the brigand chief, when he heard the news, cut his own throat. The brave wife of the T'u-ssu then sent troops to exterminate the rest of the brigands or force them to submit.

When the emperor heard of this exploit, he presented the noble lady with a thousand ounces of silver, precious golden ornaments, a complete set of hairpins and ear-

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[10] B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan,* 14–15, English translation, London, Routledge, 1930.

[11] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus,* 196.

[12] There is a possibility that this name is a corruption of the Chinese expression *kuang-kun* prefixed by the Chinese word *ta,* "big." In H. A. Giles, *A Chinese-English dictionary,* second edition, Shanghai and London, Kelley and Walsh, Bernard Quaritch, 1912, under number 6389, *kuang-kun* is given as "a bare pole—a swindler; a scoundrel." In the north China vernacular, however, the expression has the meaning "a tough," "a gangster," and in this meaning it has passed into more than one of the frontier languages of China. Father A. Mostaert, in his *Dictionnaire Ordos* 1: 292*a*, records it in the form *gaŋgun* with the meanings "vaurien, trompeur; qui se conduit mal, volage, leger de conduit; libertinage," and also records a verb formed from the noun. C. P. Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia,* 212–214, London, Methuen, 1926, records it in the form "Gangung" as part of the name of a swashbuckler, with the meaning of "brigand," in a Turki ballad from Kashgar.—O. L.

562 173 rings and four pieces of flowered silk. He ordered his officials to build her a seven-storied mansion at Lien-ch'eng. She was also presented with an inscription reading "She displayed faithfulness," and given a grant of fifty *ch'ing* of land, the revenues of which were to provide her with "toilet expenses," the Chinese expression equivalent to the English "pin money." The grant of land, according to the family chronicle of the Lu T'u-ssu, was in the country of *chun ku erh.*[13] There are also legends of the bravery of the Monguor women during the great Muslim rebellion who joined in the battle just as their husbands were beginning to retreat, and thus turned defeat into victory. According to popular tradition, it was for this exploit that the emperor himself designed the costume that Monguor women wear on ceremonial occasions, including a sleeveless "military" jacket, military skirt, and a miniature shield and spear as part of the headdress.

562 In spite of all these legendary tributes to their ability, however, Monguor women do not play a conspicuous part in politics or administration; with the exception, already noted, that when a T'u-ssu dies leaving a son who has not come of age, the boy's mother acts as regent.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE

604 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is most clearly seen in the role of the maternal uncle, who while not a part of the family of his sister's child exerts, nevertheless, a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

In discussing the role of the maternal uncle, I shall divide my remarks into two parts, dealing first with the most striking aspects of his role, and secondly with the context in which these prominent aspects occur. Since the facts which are to be presented have considerable theoretical importance for the problem of possible matriarchal survivals in a patriarchal kinship system, I shall conclude my observations with a short theoretical analysis.

604 764 Among the Monguors the special rights of the maternal uncle were most vividly manifest in three circumstances: (1) at the natural death of his sister's children (2) in the event of their having been murdered or having committed suicide, and (3) in situations where they were subject to punishment.

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[13] These three Chinese syllables are one of the regular transcriptions of the Mongol term *jun gar*, "left hand" or "left wing." This expression reflects the usual Mongol practice of dividing territories and military organizations into a left (east) and a right (west) wing (the south being "front" and the north "back"). This expression is the origin of the name of the Jungar Mongols, who were the "left wing" of the confederation of Western Mongols in the region of the Altai mountains and the northern part of Sinkiang Province which is therefore still known, in the Western literature, as Jungaria or Zungaria. In this case, however, the reference may be to land taken from some of the Jungar Mongols who eventually migrated into the pastures of the Tibetan plateau near the country of the Monguors.—O. L.

A. The sister's children were not allowed to be buried without the permission of their maternal uncle.

When a member of the family died, a capable and outstanding man was invited to direct the preparation and the ceremonial of the funeral, and to send people to convey the obituary announcement to all the relatives. It was also his duty to call the deceased's maternal uncle or a member of the maternal uncle's family—e.g. his son or grandson. The maternal uncle was the "master of the bones"[14] of the deceased, and he disposed of the right to permit the burial or to impede and obstruct it, even with violence; consequently he was to be treated with the utmost reverence and respect at that moment.

If the relations between the two families had been unfriendly and hostile before, the maternal uncle and his family did not miss the opportunity to pay off an old grudge, impeding or at least delaying the burial and causing excessive expense to the family. He would assert that the deceased had not been well cared for, that the funeral was too small for a mother who had borne six or more children, worked her fingers to the bone, and never enjoyed any sunshine during her life, although she had been a fine mother and good homemaker, etc. He would require the deceased's family to invite twenty or thirty lamas to pray for forty-nine days, to offer a certain amount of alms to a fixed number of lamasaries, to buy the most expensive grave-clothes for the deceased, etc. In such situations, it was the duty of the director of the funeral to settle the trouble, saving as much money for the family of the deceased as possible by displaying with prodigality the proficiency of his eloquence.

If the two families had always been friendly, on the day of the funeral, before the dinner, the director of the funeral made a speech before the maternal uncle, saying that the deceased had died a natural death, notwithstanding that two or three doctors had been invited and a large amount of money had been spent for medicine; that the whole family to the best of its abilities had tried to assuage the pains and suffering of the deceased, to be agreeable and helpful to him, securing him a happy death, etc. Finally he asked the maternal uncle to examine the deceased and to give the necessary permission for the burial. In localities where the Monguors were used to burying their dead in coffins, as do the Chinese, the eldest son of the deceased knelt during the speech, presenting to the maternal uncle a plate on which was placed a hammer and the wedges with which the cover of the coffin were to be fastened. The maternal uncle himself drove a couple of wedges, after which others completed the fastening. (The same custom exists among the Chinese.) The sons and grandsons

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[14] In both Mongol and Chinese usage, "bone" stands for the paternal and "flesh" for the maternal line of descent. Since the clan system was patrilineal, the body was referred to as "bones," even though the maternal uncle, who had jurisdiction in permitting burial, represented the "flesh" rather than the "bone" of the deceased.—O. L.

684 764 knelt and prostrated themselves, thanking the deceased's maternal uncle.

B. The maternal uncle was required to initiate and execute vengeance for the murder or suicide of his 604 sister's child.

628 The duty to initiate and execute vengeance fell first on the brothers of the mother of the deceased—i.e. the deceased's maternal uncles—and only secondarily on the deceased's father, brothers, and other paternal kinsmen. Hence, the mother's brothers were the immediate protectors of the lives and well-being of their sister's children and it was they who stepped forward in the event that a man or woman had been murdered in his or her own family, or a married woman had been murdered or had committed suicide in the home of her parents-in-law.

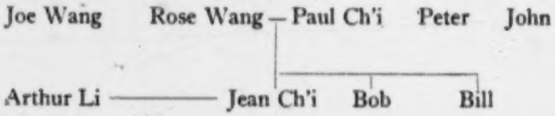
To illustrate the way in which the maternal uncle operated as an avenger, and the relationships which he had with the various other relatives of the deceased, I shall draw on an actual case of suicide which I had the opportunity of observing at first hand.

In November 1915, in Lichiat'an ("the plain of the Li family"), the daughter-in-law of Li Chin-ch'ün, born in the family of Ch'i, was found one morning hanging from a beam. She had had quarrels for many days with her mother-in-law and had been beaten by her husband. Li Chin-ch'ün, sick with fear and apprehension, and with a sense of impending doom, went in a hurry to see the chief of the village and the elders, and begged a man who was on intimate terms with the girl's maternal uncle to convey the terrible news and to invite him to come over in order to permit detachment of the body from the beam and to fix the date for the settlement of the trouble.

A hanging person was not allowed to be detached without permission of the "master of the bones." After the permission had been granted, a shaman was invited who adjured and cursed the evil spirit, feverishly cut the rope with his sword, undressed the victim and cut a small piece of flesh from the hips, which he swallowed. The victim was then deposited on the *k'ang*, or sleeping platform, to await burial after the troubles had been patched up and permission for the burial granted by the girl's maternal uncle.

During the night, with all possible haste, the Li family, aided by some friends and relatives, sent away for safe keeping its best animals and entrusted to these friends and relatives its most precious belongings—clothes, agricultural implements, etc. Hogs and sheep were killed and vast quantities of wine were prepared, in order to deal in the best way with the ill-disposed guests, for on an empty stomach trouble cannot be ironed out; empty bellies do not reason. To meet unknown contingencies which might arise, the father-in-law of the suicide borrowed money at usurious rates, mortgaged some fields, etc., for a suicide ruined a family completely, and there was a saying that: "The value of the life of a person who dies by his own hand, tallies with the whole wealth of the family."

In this concrete case, what relatives were involved? The relatives of the deceased girl, Jean Ch'i,[15] are shown in the following genealogical chart:



Since Jean was the daughter of Rose Wang, Joe Wang, who is Rose's brother, was Jean's maternal uncle and was "the master of the bones" and had to lead the avengers. If Jean had had no real maternal uncle, the duty of leading the avengers would have fallen on her closest male relatives in her mother's lineage.

Since Jean was also the daughter of Paul Ch'i, Paul and his brothers and sons, and his paternal uncles and their sons and grandsons—the whole Ch'i family—were involved. They had to avenge the death of one of their members, but under the leadership of Joe Wang. They would have led the avengers only in default of Jean's maternal uncles.

On the other side, the whole Li family was involved, and with them the maternal uncles of Arthur Li, the husband of the suicide. The latter were invited to take up the cudgels in favor of Arthur and his father.

Thus four families were directly involved in the suicide—two on each side. The position of the avenging group was stronger, for they had a claim to see justice done; the position of the other group was the weaker because they were recognized as in the wrong. The first group emphasized the wickedness of the behavior of the Li family, in order to extort a severe atonement, and the other group tried to minimize the wrong, offering extenuating circumstances, in order to save Arthur and his father.

It should be noted that other families could have been indirectly involved in this case. Joe Wang, the avenger, could have asked his own maternal uncle to assist him, and in default of close members of Joe Wang's lineage, this maternal uncle would have assumed the role of "master of the bones." Similarly, Paul Ch'i could have asked assistance of his own maternal uncle.

On the other side, not only Arthur Li's maternal uncles but also his mother's maternal uncles, and his father's maternal uncles could have been asked to help in the defense.

In other words, aside from the maternal uncle of the deceased, the maternal uncles of any of the principals involved in the ensuing conflict were subject to an appeal for assistance and moral support, and, in the case of the chief avenger, for substitution in role.

It is also to be noted that in any of the clans involved—e.g. Ch'i, Wang, Li—family groups rather than entire clans participated. In this case, Jean Ch'i's brothers, father, father's brothers and the latters' sons were involved; in other cases, if the family of the defendant was wealthy, the aggrieved's grandfather, grandfather's brothers and their descendants joined the avenging group in the hopes of profiting during the impoverishment of the defendant's family. But this is usually the limit of involvement of any given clan.

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[15] Given names are fictitious.

To help himself in this tight spot, the father of Arthur Li invited the chief of the village and the elders to arbitrate the conflict, along with some influential men celebrated in the country for their eloquence and proficiency in the art of patching up troubles, and known to be on intimate terms with the members of the first group. These he promised a fine remuneration in case of success. Such were the actors in the drama which ensued.

On the day appointed for the settlement, the members of the Li family together with Arthur Li's maternal uncles and the chief and elders of the village, went outside the village to greet the "guests"—i.e. the members of the avenging group. They led a sheep whose horns were decorated with red paper and on whose back was bound a piece of red cotton cloth eight feet in length. With them they also took many firecrackers, to be fired in front of the guests as they returned the long way to the Li family's courtyard. This was the customary means for making a public apology.

But the guests did not show up, and for several days the Li family had to send them new invitations every day. This was Joe Wang's way of compelling the Li family to spend money and kill more animals for the invited elders, the rest of the Li relatives and Arthur Li's maternal uncles, who had to be treated with kindness and fed all during the time that Joe Wang was delaying his appearance.

Finally, after five days Joe Wang showed up with the Ch'i family and a retinue of forty or fifty men bearing clubs, etc. The whole Li family knelt and prostrated themselves to make public apology, but not a kind word was spoken by their former friends, who had now become the fiercest enemies. Entering the courtyard, the Wangs and the Ch'is went to see the victim lying on the *k'ang* unwashed and dirty, for no one was allowed to touch the victim before the case was settled. The stench lay heavy on the air, clogged the throat, and made the avengers clench their fists with rage. They breathed fire and brimstone against the Li family. The maternal uncle declared that he was coming to take vengeance, and like a bolt from the blue, he and his followers smashed all the windows and doors and tables and benches and jars and all kinds of tools; the chickens and the dog were clubbed; all the animals in the stables were driven away, etc., adding to the chaos and confusion. Babies squalled, children screamed, the daughters-in-law clutched their children to their breasts, and the whole Li family prostrated themselves, begging for

604 mercy. The avengers knew no compassion, and every supplication was as a hot coal hissing on ice.

628 In the meantime the elders had tried to calm them down a little. The neighbors brought tea. The scolding, upbraiding, and cursing having subsided a bit, a dinner was offered. Again some of the avengers carped and complained about the quality of the food, etc. After dinner the palaver began again and went on through the whole night, with endless cursing.

The maternal uncle refused to announce his conditions for settling the trouble. The avenging group ate and drank its fill for three days, and still no solution, no headway was made.

On the fourth day the maternal uncle finally announced his conditions: the important living Buddha of Erh-kulung and 20 lamas should be invited to pray for 14 days for the victim; 1,000 pounds of butter should be offered, with an alms of 10,000 taels (ounces of silver) to the same lamasery; and 10,000 taels should be paid to the family of the suicide as atonement.

In the meantime the elders, knowing the ropes, and having the knack of acquiring information, had scanned the avenging group, recognized the most influential men among them, and had already invited them on three separate nights to their homes in order to enjoy a quiet sleep. Here they sounded them out concerning the mind of the maternal uncle about his final solution; some of them ultimately weakened and money was promised to them if they would see that the trouble was settled for a minor sum.

The maternal uncle, however, a very stubborn man, did not yield to the hints and suggestions of his friends. On the fifth day no solution had yet been reached.

It so happened that I was in the neighborhood and that two of the elders knew I was an intimate friend of Joe Wang, the maternal uncle, whose sick wife and son I had helped in critical circumstances. At night I was invited to see the maternal uncle and to persuade him to settle the trouble in a more lenient way, and it was thus that I learned all the circumstances of the appalling affair.

After a new palaver, lasting a whole day and night, the case was settled: only 1,000 taels was to be paid in atonement to the maternal uncle and his family, and the maternal uncle himself should take care of the question of the prayers and alms. This settlement was in fact a subterfuge, because prayers are never said and alms never given in case of suicide, so that in reality the whole atonement price accrued to the maternal uncle (Wang family), and the suicide's paternal relatives (Ch'i family).

Under the settlement, the atonement was to be paid on the nail, according to custom, not as an actual lump sum of 1,000 ounces of silver, but partly in cash and partly in livestock and pieces of cotton cloth. Moreover it was customary in all atonements that 600 coins rated 1,000; that one piece of cloth rated as two pieces.

604 628 and that prices of animals were fixed at double their true value. (The same custom existed for a widow's bride price.)

Nevertheless, the Li family was ruined. The entertainment of so many hostile guests and of the elders for so many days, the money promised in secret at night in order to effect an advantageous settlement, presents given to the elders, etc., constituted the most important expenses. The atonement was, in fact, the least important expense.

The ill-boding arrival of the deceased girl's maternal uncle, accompanied by the members of the Ch'i family breathing vengeance; the empty home in a state of indescribable destruction; the way in which the formerly friendly Li family was slighted, offended, treated with loathing, saddled with debts and ruined; the leaden atmosphere of gloom for so many days—all these tragic events made a deep impression and enhanced the authoritative stature of the maternal uncle, the hub around which turned the entire tragedy. When one has witnessed such a tragedy and seen one group of people on bended knees in supplication, weeping profusely, before another group of hard-hearted people, unwilling to forgive, their eyes red with hatred, rancor and embitterment, the meaning of "blood vengeance" is understood and remembered forever.

604 681 C. Capital and lesser punishments were inflicted by the maternal uncle on his sister's child in certain instances.

The maternal uncle wielded not only the power to permit or to impede the funeral of his sister's children, and to avenge their murder or suicide, but according to custom he had also the right to inflict punishment of various kinds on them. His power to mete out capital punishment may be illustrated by the following two cases of murder, the first involving only one kin group and the second involving two different kin groups.

In May 1914, in the same village of Lichiat'an, a youngster killed the older brother of his father. Subsequent to the division of the partrilineal inheritance the preceding autumn, the father and his brother had become implacable enemies and clashes had occurred between their sons on several occasions.

In this case, the maternal uncle of the murderer was invited together with the village elders and the paternal relatives of the family. The father of the murderer, heavy with despair but hoping that his son would escape with his life, invited men celebrated in the art of patching quarrels, and also the chief and elders of the village. He tried to hide some of his best animals, but no one would help him. The emotion and revulsion which arose in the country at such an unprecedented event had reached fever pitch because in the Monguor patrilineal society (as in that of the Chinese) a father's brother is classified as a "real" father, and therefore in local sentiment the murder was considered tantamount to patricide. The meeting began on the third day and

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lasted for two days, presided over by the maternal uncle of the murderer. Finally, the uncle decided that his sister's son should be buried alive, on the principle of a life for a life; that the murderer's father should defray all the expenses of the coffin, clothes, dinner and ceremonial for his own brother's funeral, should invite lamas to pray, and should give alms to the lamasery.

A document was drawn up in which the maternal uncle testified that he took the responsibility for the punishment, and to this all the chiefs of the families affixed their signatures, testifying that they agreed to abide by the decision of the maternal uncle and that they would not accuse the murderer before a Chinese court. The sons of the murdered uncle had threatened to take the case to a Chinese court, and if that had been done not only would capital punishment have been inflicted, but both families would have been ruined by the Chinese officials. The capital punishment was therefore meted out by the Monguors themselves, the maternal uncle taking the responsibility. Under the then prevailing standards, the Chinese officials, who had both administrative and justiciary powers, would take no notice of such a case of traditional and publicly approved justice unless it were formally brought before them by the relatives of the murdered man.

A deep pit was dug, thorns and brambles were thrown into it, and the murderer, cursed and disowned by his family, naked and bound hand and foot, was pushed into the hole and buried alive.[16] The coffin of the murdered uncle was placed upon the pit and a mound piled over it. The family was ruined.

A similar case happened in 1914 in the valley of Lumench'eng. A wife killed her husband at night with a hammer. In this case, the family of the husband with his maternal uncle was opposed to the family of the wife with her maternal uncle. Since the murder of a husband by his wife also deserves capital punishment in Chinese courts, and since the family of the husband threatened to take the case to the Chinese court, the maternal uncle decreed capital punishment for his niece. She was buried alive.

In addition to capital punishment decreed by the maternal uncle for his sister's children, lesser punishments —often of a severe nature—were also administered.

In 1916, in Tolong,[17] an unmarried youngster was severely beaten by his two brothers at night for theft. He was a black sheep, having brought disrepute on his family. In the morning he was found hanging from a beam. The maternal uncle and the chiefs of the family were invited to a meeting at which it was decided that an atonement should be paid to the maternal uncle.

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[16] It is possible that carrying out of the sentence of death by burying alive is influenced by the idea that, by not shedding blood, the chain of revenge and counter-revenge is broken, and the family of the man thus put to death feels no obligation to take up a new "blood-feud."—O. L.

[17] A place-name probably from Monguor *dolon*, "seven."

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604 (Later I heard that this decision had been criticized throughout the countryside.)

681 In 1917, in the valley of Hungnai a youngster of twenty-one, who was always stealing and thus disgracing his honorable family, had his eyes burned out with quicklime in keeping with the decision of his maternal uncle and the chiefs of the family.

In 1914 in Chenfan[18] valley a young woman, the wife of a poor man, eloped with a rich lover, abandoning her husband and two children. After three or four years, disgusted with the lover, she returned to her mother. Her maternal uncle and her parents ordered her to rejoin her former husband and two children. Her husband, however, before accepting her back, urged the maternal uncle to give him an affidavit, testifying that he would not provoke trouble in case the girl committed suicide, for the poor man suspected that she was not willing to return.[19]

It may perhaps seem unbelievable that as late as the period of the Chinese Republic such measures as the inflicting of capital punishment by the people was allowed, without the interference of a court. The explanation is to be found in the old tradition, still persistent at the time, that the courts need take no notice of any crime whatever, if the crime were not brought before a court by someone who had suffered loss or damage through the commission of the crime.

The T'u-ssu, the chiefs, and the elders of the villages, who themselves had no right to inflict capital punishment, knew all the facts of such cases as those I have described, since they were invited as arbiters; but they did not interfere as civil officials, because they were Monguors and they felt it natural and reasonable that each family should itself avenge the murder of a member of the family, without interference from outside authority.

In all these cases the maternal uncle acted as a real "master of the bones" of the children of his sister, notwithstanding that, in this patriarchal family system, both the children of his sister and his sister herself were considered to belong entirely to her husband and his family, in all matters of property and authority except offenses that, without the intervention of the maternal uncle, might result in blood feuds between clans. The maternal uncle did not patch up quarrels, but he did take it upon himself to make decisions; he punished, and he alone took the responsibility for his decisions.

The cases cited above highlight the fact that the maternal uncle was simultaneously a protector and disciplinarian of his sister's children, and that his authority

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[18] A Chinese place name. *Chen* is "to exercise control by means of a military strong point"; *fan* is general for "barbarian," specific for "Tibetan." Hence the name means "military strong point on the Tibetan frontier."—O. L.

[19] I encountered a similar case in a Chinese community. The authority of the maternal uncle is recognized by traditional Chinese law, and Chinese say that when the maternal uncle accuses the children of his sister before a Chinese court, their own parents can do nothing to defend them.

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in these particular situations was the same whether the sister's children remained in the families in which they were born, or married out into other families (in the case of the sister's daughter). This relationship between the maternal uncle and his sister's child leads us to inquire into the nature of the relationship between the maternal uncle and his own family, on the one hand, and the families into which his sister's children were born or married, on the other.

Let us consider the relationship between the family of the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's children were born. The two families—*A* and *B* respectively—were united directly by the marriage of a girl from family *A* with a man from family *B*, and the children of this couple became members of family *B*. We may suppose that the marriage was made possible originally because the two families would be strengthened rather than weakened. Evidence of this friendly relationship between the two Monguor families at the time of the marriage were the many presents which each lavished upon the other.

What was the effect of the maternal uncle's role as avenger and disciplinarian in strengthening or weakening this bond of friendship? Before children were born of the marriage, if the girl was killed or driven to suicide by members of family *B*, or herself caused the death of a member of family *B*, the two families became hostile, but the responsibility of initiating and executing vengeance or punishment fell on the girl's maternal uncle who was not a member of either family *A* or family *B*, but of a third family, *C*. This man assumed the responsibility for the final action taken, and the hostility between families *A* and *B* was thus given some indirection by the interposition of a third party.

When children were born to the girl in family *B*, her brother in family *A* became the maternal uncle of these children, and subsequently the natural death of these children, or their involvement in family murders and suicides, placed families *A* and *B* in a direct relationship of either hostility or closer friendship with each other, as shown by the following table:

A *C* *C*
Paul Ch'i—*Rose Wang* her brother *Joe Wang*
B *A* *A* *A*
Arthur Li—*Jean Ch'i* her brothers *Bob Ch'i* and *Bill Ch'i*
D *B* *B* *B*
Joe Chang—*Mary Li* her brothers *Peter Li* and *Joe Li*
D *D* *D*
Helen Chang her brothers *Joe Chang* and *Peter Chang*

Joe Wang is the maternal uncle of Jean Ch'i, Bob Ch'i, and Bill Ch'i.
Bob Ch'i and Bill Ch'i are the maternal uncles of Mary Li, Peter Li, and Joe Li.
Peter Li and Joe Li are the maternal uncles of Helen, Peter, and Joe Chang.

This relationship was in fact much more likely to be one of closer friendship in such situations. Conflict of interest between the two families would occur if the sis-

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ter's child had wronged or had been wronged by a member of his own family *B*; in such cases the maternal uncle from family *A* would be called in to administer severe punishment to his sister's child, usually against the wishes of at least one or two members of family *B*, or to initiate vengeance against members of family *B* who had wronged his sister's child. Such cases were quite rare.

More frequently, the maternal uncle was called in to support family *B* by leading the vengeance for wrongs against the sister's child committed by members of other families, as in the case of the sister's daughter who was murdered or driven to suicide by her husband and his relatives. He would also be called on to support his sister's son when the latter was himself carrying out vengeance or disciplinary activities as a "master of the bones." Consequently, family *B* looked on the maternal uncle in family *A* more as a source of moral support than as an object of fear.

While hostility was more apt to arise between the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's daughter married, here again this eventuality was balanced by the fact that the sister's daughter's husband could call on his wife's maternal uncle to assist him in executing his own vengeance or disciplinary action, in the same way that the sister's son could call on the maternal uncle.

In reality, the role of the maternal uncle in Monguor society tended to contribute to, rather than detract from, the friendly relationship between two families connected by marriage. At the time of the marriage, these did not consider the possibility of feuds between themselves, and weddings were not surrounded by an atmosphere of fear and foreboding of future terroristic activity on the part of the maternal uncle.

The situations described above in connection with murder, suicide, and natural death present only one aspect of the maternal uncle's role. Being crises, they were exceptional, and a consideration of them alone might lead one to visualize the maternal uncle only as the primary agent for meting out justice in the families of his sister's children. His role was more complex and consideration must be given to other aspects, ordinarily overlooked, which were more important in the normal course of life and which reveal other strong bonds between the maternal uncle and the families of his sister's children. In order to get a clearer picture, let us next consider the special relationships between a brother and his sister.

We must first take into account the fact that among the Monguors the oldest son was the chief of the family after the death of his father. His sisters and younger brothers were most intimate with him, and would all take council with him. A particularly close relationship usually developed between a sister and her elder brother in regard to property. Although women could not claim any share of the family inheritance, either in their own family or

604 in the family of their husbands, it was customary for their mothers to tell their daughters secretly that they might 681 secure a small private herd of animals by enlisting the aid of their elder brothers, who were to approach the father on auspicious occasions and ask for a gift of new born lambs or calves for their sisters. Every year at New Year's time the father was usually in a happy mood, and on the days that lambs or calves were born, the girls would worry their elder brothers and rarely failed to see their wishes fulfilled. Once the animals were obtained they were entrusted to the elder brother's care, marked on the ear with a special mark, and the brother would [583] keep them for the sister in the family herd. On the day of her wedding, a daughter would thus possess a small herd of her own.

Again on the day of her marriage and even after marriage, a daughter would approach her elder brother in an attempt to obtain some more cows. After marriage, a girl never mixed her small herd with the herds of her husband but continued to keep it in the herd of her oldest brother. Whenever she returned home to visit her mother, she examined her little treasure, collected the lamb skins and wool, and used them or sold them for herself and her children.

583 Furthermore, on the day of her marriage, the daughter of a well-to-do family was usually given some land, 604 called "cosmetic" or "paint" fields—i.e. fields whose revenue was to be used for her own personal use. The revenue from such lands became her own private income and savings. When she died, the revenue could be collected by her children. She was the real owner of the land and possessed the right to transfer it, but before transferring it, she had to inform the family of her intentions and to offer the family the first opportunity to reclaim it. When a woman acquired such lands it was again her oldest brother who took care of the land and planted, weeded, and harvested it for his sister.

I also met six young women who owned thirty or more poplar trees, planted for them by their brothers, on the edge of the fields of their parents, when they were girls of about eight or ten years of age. After fifteen years the trees had become a valuable item of capital.

604 The bond which developed between a brother and sister and which continued after the sister's marriage was extended to the sister's children. Children saw their mother's great affection for her own elder brother and *vice versa.* They knew that their mother had a small private treasure entrusted to him, from which they hoped to benefit eventually. The mother made the children feel toward her brother the way she herself felt. Hence love and esteem grew on both sides and as his sister's children grew up and married, their maternal uncle became their benefactor in the normal exigencies of life, as well as their avenger and disciplinarian in abnormal crises like those noted above.

This relationship between a brother and his sister and sister's children formed the basis for the beneficent and friendly aspect of his relationship both with the family into which his sister married and in which his sister's children were born, and with those families into which his sister's daughters married. The sister's husband's family appreciated the fact that the sister received presents through her elder brother, since her husband and children would indirectly benefit. Moreover, the sister's sons and the husbands of the sister's daughters could call on the sister's brother to act as a go-between when they were bargaining for animals or engaged in court proceedings before the T'u-ssu, to witness contracts for the sale of seeds to the local oil mills, and to help out financially when large debts fell due.

It is apparent therefore that the families into which his sister's children were born or married desired earnestly to cultivate the friendship of the children's maternal uncle, not only because of his position as potential avenging or punishing angel in life and death crises, but also because he could render real aid and support in all ordinary problems both to his sister and to her children. He was in effect not simply a relative, but an intimate friend of the family, and he was given precedence on important occasions relating to his sister's children's status in the society.

When a child was born it was customary to invite its maternal uncle to a feast; when the child was married, both its own maternal uncle and its mother's maternal uncle were invited to the wedding; at New Year's the child was sent to greet its maternal uncle; and finally the maternal uncle was invited to attend the ceremonies for the installation of his sister's son as family chief, or his investiture as T'u-ssu. But the maternal uncle did not arrange marriages nor did he appoint family chiefs. He was simply the most honored guest. For example, I have noted elsewhere [20] that families of ordinary standing were accustomed to present thirteen pieces of clothing to their betrothed daughter, five pieces to her fiancé, one piece to each of her fiancé's paternal grandparents, parents, paternal uncles, maternal aunts, brothers, and sisters. For her maternal uncle was reserved the present of honor—the large official scarf of felicity and a horse. If the girl's fiancé's grandfather were dead, her maternal uncle would be invited to preside at the wedding in his place.

In spite of the maternal uncle's rare intrusion into the affairs of his sister's children in other respects, he was in one kind of problem a meddler. Women are always sensitive about the condition of their daughters and are willing to believe and to magnify all of a daughter's complaints about sufferings inflicted on her by her mother-in-law. If a Monguor woman were an interfering character she could easily attempt to move her brothers to protect their niece, or her sons to protect their sister's child—to intrude, in their interests, into the privacy of a family which knew the great influence and power of the clan of their daughter-in-law's maternal uncle and had in the back of its mind the fear of a possible suicide by the daughter-in-law. A family might have to brook actual infringement of its rights by the maternal uncles, but undue pretensions of authority on the part of a maternal uncle could be considered as occasional excesses such as occur in the accepted behavior of every society.

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[20] L. Schram, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou*, 67, Shanghai, *Variétés sinologiques* 58, Imprimerie de la mission Catholique, 1938.

Considering these facts from a theoretical standpoint, we may ask whether the influence of the maternal uncle in Monguor society was derived wholly from a previous matriarchal family system or was founded in human nature and hence to be considered as natural in both patriarchal and matriarchal systems. We may also ask whether the giving of some fields and animals to the daughter was necessarily related to the female ownership of land in a matriarchal society. Is the fact that the daughter keeps her wealth in her family of origin also related to that system, or may it be explained simply by the daughter's fear lest her savings be confiscated by her husband's family the first time they are in financial straits?

Let us re-examine the facts in the light of this problem. Historically, the clans of the nomad Mongols of Asia appear to have been, like the Monguor clan, an association of consanguine relatives based on the principle of patrilineal descent and exogamy; the clan protected its own members by the institution of blood feud. Furthermore, the clan would avenge the murder of a person belonging to the same "bone"—i.e. persons born into the clan and related to the clan by patrilineal descent, whether such persons remained with the clan or married out into other clans. The duty to take vengeance was incumbent upon the whole clan and lasted as long as the wrong was not avenged. If one generation had been incapable of taking vengeance, then the obligation rested upon the following generation, and so on. Related clans could be called on for aid and support in carrying out vengeance or protection against it.

In view of this principle of blood vengeance, two facts of the Monguor vengeance pattern emerge as peculiar; first, the placing of primary responsibility for initiating the vengeance on the aggrieved's maternal uncle rather than on his paternal kinsmen, and second, the shifting of vengeance from a clan to a family duty.

In the case of Jean Ch'i, considering the old nomadic society from which the Monguors were derived, we might have expected that vengeance would have been initiated by the Ch'i family—her own kin group, or "bone," led by Paul, her father, by Peter and John, her paternal uncles, and by Bob and Bill, her brothers—not by Joe Wang, her maternal uncle.

This form of vengeance appeared to be somewhat incongruous and I asked for explanations in order to understand the trend of mind of the Monguors. The immediate answer was: "A girl is an *outsider* in her own family; she does not belong permanently to the family, 604 because she will eventually marry into another family; she and her children will bear another surname and she will be buried not in the graveyard of her family of origin, but in the graveyard of her husband's family. If she is killed or commits suicide she has none the less to have her avenger, but since she is an *outsider,* it is appropriate that the brother of her mother assume this duty. Her paternal kinsmen are expected to avenge her death also, but only as second best, following in the wake of the maternal uncles."

When I objected to this explanation on the grounds that in the case of the murder or suicide of Jean's brothers, Bob and Bill, who were not outsiders of the Ch'i family, Joe, their maternal uncle, would have been the leaders of the avengers in precisely the same way, the Monguors answered politely that I was an *outsider* and did not understand the importance of the maternal uncle inside the orbit of the Monguor family.

Other Monguors, in order to support and justify the custom, gave me a most confused and inappropriate explanation: "Brothers and sisters are children of the same bone; members of the same bone have the duty of avenging and protecting each other and upon the most closely related among them the duty was most incumbent and most urgent." This much of the explanation is an aberration which in fact explains the old nomadic and, not the Monguor vengeance pattern. From this the explanation went on to say, quite illogically: "Therefore, a mother's brother must protect his sister's children, sisters must respect their brothers, and sister's children are taught to respect and honor their mother's brothers."

This attempt at explanation indicates to me that the Monguors were confused in their thinking on this point, and had not been able to fit this aspect of the role of the maternal uncle consistently into the framework and principles of their patrilineal family system. I am led to suspect that the acknowledgment by them of his right was due to the presence, within their patrilineal society, of principles specific to the matriarchal system.

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562 What other evidence do we have of such an intrusion? I have previously noted many of them in *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen,* chapter VI: (1) the abnormal rights of the mother to decide herself about the marriage of her daughter; her consent had to be given even when her daughter was a widow and belonged to the family of her former husband, (2) the right of the mother, in case of the marriage of her son, to go herself to ask for his wife and to fix the date of the marriage before the go-between enters into the action, (3) the fact that in marriages between poor families, the mother-in-law herself went on the last day of the year to bring her future daughter-in-law to her home, (4) the unusual ease in adopting into a family children born of a daughter-in-law who had eloped many years before with a lover, (5) the exceptional marriages with the pole or girdle, so usual with the neighboring Tibetans, (6) the fact that a newborn son was called according to the age of his grand-

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mother, (7) the unusual fact that young boys worked for years or for a whole lifetime in the home of their father-in-law in order to marry his daughter. These leave no doubt that the patriarchal family system of the Monguors had been contaminated by many practices belonging to the matriarchal system.

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What contact did the Monguors have with matriarchal systems?[20a] It is significant that the Monguors in Kansu were not only separated from other Mongols, but were living in the neighborhood of Tibetans and Chinese, and moreover had many of these people enrolled in their clans. Certain features of the Tibetan and Chinese social institutions appear to have been incorporated into the Monguor social organization. Among the Tibetans, the matriarchal system was in full bloom and marriages between Monguors and Tibetans opened the doors for admitting matriarchal customs into the daily routine of life to a very large extent.

The readiness of the Monguors to adopt a whole series of matriarchal traits from the Tibetans is even more understandable in view of the fact that the ancestors of the Mongols and Turks lived at the dawn of history in the neighborhood of peoples practicing the matriarchal system and their patriarchal family system was at that time already contaminated.[21]

Professor Eberhard, doubting the former existence of a "pure" and "original" patriarchal system among the Mongols and Turks, writes:

> I am forced to make the statement that nowhere did I encounter a culture corresponding perfectly to one of the cultures advocated by the theory of culture circles. . . . I harbor suspicions about the real existence of such cultures: for why do we always encounter mixing and mingling of cultures in all circles? How is it possible to prove the real existence of the culture of a circle, in the manner of the system of culture circles, by other than theoretical evidence?[22]

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My overall conclusions therefore are as follows: first, that the role of the maternal uncle as "master of the bones" of his sister's children—i.e. his authority, in matters of life and death, to avenge or punish them—did not originate in the Monguor patrilineal system, but constitutes a usurpation of powers which belonged in another society to members of the same *bone*. Second,

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[20a] In this connection, see the outstanding study by Wilhelm Koppers, Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China, *Anthropos* **8**: 981 sqq., 1930.

[21] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* **9**, Part 3, Die Religionen der Hirtenvölker: 71, Münster, Aschendorf, 1949. W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, 176, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[22] W. Eberhard, *Kulturen und Siedlungen der Randvölker Chinas*, 414, Leiden, Brill, 1942. ". . . so habe ich doch feststellen müssen, dass nirgends in unseren Kulturen sich eine gefunden hat, in der die Kulture 'eines' Kulturkreises volkommen und rein zutage tritt. . . . Ich habe aber doch Bedenken wenn, die Lage wirklich so ist. Wieso soll es immer nur Mischungen gegeben haben? Wodurch (ausser durch formallogische Schlüsse) ist es dann bewiesen, dass je die Kultur existiert hat, die ein solcher Kulturkreis umfasst?"

[p. 98 b]

601 177 that the assumption of this role by the maternal uncle was only one of several non-patriarchal features introduced into the Monguor system as a result of contact with matriarchal systems. Third, that the property, assistance, and respect relationships which existed between a brother and his sister and her children, as described above, were not specific to either the patriarchal or matriarchal systems, but were founded in human nature, in conditions common to both systems. Fourth, I would add that normally the sister and her children are respected and loved in the husband's family and go through life happily—more because the two families are really friendly and intimate than because of the maternal uncle's power to intervene. After all, the solid foundation of families is not fear and hatred but love, and the functions of the maternal uncle must be viewed with not only his emergency powers in mind, but this as well.

THE CHILD

858 562 Among the Monguors, as in most societies in Asia, boys are preferred to girls. The description given by Father J. Van Oost of the favoritism shown toward boys among the Mongols of the Ordos might well have been written of the Monguors:

> He is surrounded with a kind of idolatry. His parents are proud of him; they cater to all his whims; they rush to dry his tears. A mother is always ready to suckle her son whenever he seems to want it, whether it be night or day. He is a petty tyrant who knows how to make himself obeyed, and his mother carries him around on her back when she is doing her household work. . . . If he gets sick, there is a major crisis. They think he is the victim of evil spirits. They resort to superstitious practices and go to fetch a lama who makes divinations, conjures away the spirits and prescribes remedies and talismans.[23]

843 562 When a woman is pregnant the whole village knows about it, and all of the women and girls are eagerly interested. Every soothsayer passing through the village is invited to foretell the sex of the expected child, and all the young wives ask him to foretell also when they themselves may expect a similar blessed event. When a pregnant woman enters a doorway and steps over the threshold, the other women always watch to see which foot she puts forward first. They believe that if she regularly steps over a threshold with the right foot, the child will be a boy; if it is the left foot, it will be a girl. This is because they believe that a son lies on the left side of the womb and a daughter on the right; accordingly, if the left side is heavy the mother will instinctively raise her right foot when making a step upward.[23a]

The festivities for the birth of a first son are especially important, and among the ways of propitiating fate to provide a long life, the selection of a lucky name is particularly important. Matters of such importance in the

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[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, as cited, 102.

[23a] Compare the Mongol expression *kul kundu*, "leg-heavy," for "pregnant."—O. L.

843 society are naturally reflected in popular religion. Special deities in the lama monasteries are supposed to be 562 interested in these affairs of mankind. The Monguors often invite lamas to help them with prayers, make vows to go on pilgrimages to far distant monasteries if they 842 are granted a son, and give alms lavishly. Their religious interpretation is that lack of sons is a punishment for sins of the parents in previous incarnations. The condition of a childless woman is pitiable—she is always despondent and dejected and drags out a miserable existence. Not having a son means having no stake in the family and society in which she lives. Her life is lonely, for it is not easy for a childless woman to make friends. I have often had a mother come to me with her childless daughter-in-law, kneeling, weeping, and begging for medicine that will make the girl bear a child, repeating over and over again "Father, the ancestors will have no one to sacrifice to them, the family will have no posterity." Such pitiful scenes gave me an understanding of the social outlook of the people among whom I lived; I could even understand why they indulged in polygamy.

Childlessness is not common among the Monguors, however. On the contrary, a Monguor woman will frequently have six or more surviving children—an astonishingly large number, considering the great amount of hard work that the mother has to do and the fact that, owing to ignorance of the most elementary rules of hygiene, lack of doctors, and miscarriages, fully a third of the children die in early infancy. The Monguors are in fact much more prolific than their kinsmen who are still nomads. One reason for this may be the fact that they live in houses while the children of nomads living in tents 842 are more exposed to variations of temperature. Probably a more important reason is that there is less venereal 164 disease among the Monguors than among nomads. The lamas, most of whom are promiscuous in spite of their vows, and great carriers of venereal disease, have less opportunity to indulge themselves in the crowded and public dwellings of the Monguors than they do among the scattered tents of the nomads.[24] The neighboring Tibetans have a very high opinion of the prolificness of the Monguors. When they are childless, they prefer to adopt a Monguor boy rather than one of their own stock, and they like to marry Monguor girls because they bear 597 more children. The Monguors have no objection to giving a girl to a Tibetan family, especially if it is a rich family.

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[24] In view of the fact that venereal disease is much less common, and families much larger, among the settled agricultural Mongols of southern and eastern Inner Mongolia than among the nomad Mongols, it is also probable that the transition from nomadism to agriculture among the Monguors has led to a stricter morality. When land becomes the principal form of property, the man who owns land wants to make sure that the son who inherits it is his legitimate son, whereas among pastoral Mongols a son, regardless of legitimacy, is a new herdsman, making it possible to look after an increased number of stock.—O. L.

845 787 Although the Monguors like to have large families, they have a divided attitude on the birth of twins. If the twins are of the same sex, it is a good omen, but twins of different sex are a very bad omen, foretelling the impoverishment of the family, the ending of good fortune, and the sterility of the mother.[24a] According to Shirokogoroff, both the Manchus and the Tungus consider twins dangerous. They are afraid of a woman who has had twins and will not have sexual relations with her. Although they believe that twins are so closely connected that if one dies the other must die, too, they bury them separately. The Tungus believe that twins have only one soul, and when a woman has had twins no one will borrow, buy, or accept a gift from either her or her husband, for fear of also having twins.[25]

844 Since a Monguor girl is usually married at about the age of eighteen, she usually has her first child at the age of nineteen. It is rare for a girl as young as fifteen to have a child. The rule among the Monguors is to build the kitchen in the northeast corner of the courtyard. This is also the corner that is considered most propitious for a newly married couple. A woman who already has as many children as she wants will try to move out of the northeast corner and live in another room. Monguor women bear their children lying in a horizontal position, while Chinese women of the same region give birth in a kneeling position. At the time of childbirth most of the women of the village come to offer their help. There is always one of them who has a special reputation for dexterity, and she is invited specially. The Monguors prefer to have widows assisting at childbirth, because they believe that in the presence of a widow childbirth goes more smoothly and is more painless. 845 If the delivery is difficult and seems to be taking too long, the husband climbs up on the roof and stamps furiously just above the head of the woman in labor. If this is not successful, a shaman is invited to drive away the evil spirits who are impeding the delivery, or a lama is called in to pray. Children born in such circumstances are often promised to a monastery to become lamas. As soon as the child has been born the room is tabu and men are no longer allowed to enter it. Over the entrance to the room the Monguors hang a cypress bough or a ball of wool or sometimes, in the Chinese manner, a piece of red cotton or a sieve.

[24a] The second born of twins has precedence over the first born. This belief has important consequences, because if the first born sons of an eldest son are twins, it is the second born of the twins who is entitled to hold, in due course, the office of head of the family. If the first born sons of a T'u-ssu are twins, it is the second who has the right of succession. The explanation given by the Monguors is that the first born twin is the servant of the second, because a man of importance is always accompanied by a servant, who respectfully opens the door for his master.

[25] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 114, and *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, as cited, 275.

846 For a whole month after the birth of a child, most people will not enter the courtyard. This tabu applies not only to the room occupied by the woman and child, but to the whole courtyard and contact with the whole family. During this month the mother lives principally on a thin gruel of millet (*mi-t'ang*). The period of seclusion is twenty-nine days after the birth of a boy and thirty days after the birth of a girl. During this period the mother should not go outside of the courtyard to draw water from the well, and she is not allowed to touch religious objects. Among poor people, where the mother cannot afford to be completely idle for a whole month, she begins to do a little household work after three days.

Every three days the mother washes herself with a concoction of cypress twigs, a Tibetan custom; and the child with a concoction of pepper, which is a Chinese custom. The mother puts under the head of her child a small pillow stuffed with dried peas, in order that the child's head may grow perfectly round, and she rubs the child's head several times a day for the same reason. On [302] the twentieth day the child's head is shaved. The mother also constantly pulls the lobes of the child's ears in order that they may grow long and pendulous.[26] A round head, long ear lobes and small, fine hands are the most important criteria of beauty and an omen of good fortune in life.

On the third day after the birth of the child the father, dressed in his best and carrying a bottle of wine and a *khatag* or scarf of felicity goes to announce the happy news to his wife's family. When he enters their room, he asks for a cup, pours wine, and offers the cup to his wife's parents and her maternal uncles; he then bows, makes a prostration, and formally announces the sex of the child and the fact that mother and child are doing well, and invites his relatives-in-law to pay a visit. On the same day the mother-in-law comes to see her grandchild and to congratulate her daughter, bringing with her a present of some millet and some money. On the seventh day the father consults a lama of the Red Hat sect and asks him to foretell the fortune of the child by divination. On the twentieth day (the same day that the child's head is shaved), the father pays another visit to his wife's parents, again with wine and a scarf of felicity, and formally invites them and the maternal uncles to take part in festivities on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, according to the sex of the child.

NAME-GIVING

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851 If the child is a boy, he is given his name on the twenty-ninth day, before the guests arrive. The father, in his best clothes, goes to the room of the grandfather

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[26] In the most ancient Buddhist iconography Buddha as a young prince, before he turned to religion, was represented with heavy earrings that dragged down the lobes of his ears. In later representations of Buddha as a divinity, the ear rings have disappeared but the deformed lobes remain. Hence pendulous ear lobes are regarded as "Buddha-like."—O. L. [p. 100b]

553 851 taking with him a bottle of wine, a scarf of felicity, and two hundred copper cash strung on a red cord to which a flock of wool is attached. He prostrates himself nine times and invites the grandfather to name the child. The grandfather is seated on the *k'ang* in all his dignity, and the whole family is gathered in the room. The mother, cradling the child in her arms and her eyes wet with tears stands before the grandfather with her husband at her side. The father ceremoniously lays the scarf of felicity across the outstretched hands of the grandfather, and presents a cup of wine. Father and mother prostrate themselves nine times, and the mother then asks the grandfather to bestow on the child a name of good omen. This is the first time that the grandfather has seen the child. Looking like the living image of ancestral pride, he solemnly confers a name and makes the mother a present of a few pierced copper cash—always an even number. He then takes his grandson in his arms and kisses him and the child is then passed on to all the other members of the family who embrace him in the same way, joyfully congratulating the father and mother.

608 851 553 In families where there are few children or where a number of children have died in infancy, it is common to invite the head of a family that is blessed with many children to name the child, thus passing on the "luck" of his own fertile family. This custom is of Chinese origin as is the custom, in poor families, of inviting a rich and respected man to preside at the name-giving ceremony, thus becoming the *kan-fu* or "dry father" (a Chinese term) of the child. This relationship somewhat resembles that of an adoptive father, and the child throughout his life is considered to be in some way related to the family of his "dry father." At the New Year and other important festivals he will always visit his "dry father," showing him much the same kind of affection and respect that he shows to his maternal uncle. The "dry father" keeps up a protective interest in the child and can be expected to help in such things as arranging his marriage; but the relationship is not one of full adoption, in which the child is actually taken into the adopting family.

553 Boys are frequently given the Tibetan names of lamaistic deities or the Chinese names of Taoist deities, or names such as "Longevity," "Felicity," "Peace," "Prosperity," "Strength," "Lion," or "Tiger." (The Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors usually go to a lama of the Red Hat sect to ask him to name a boy according to the character indicated by his horoscope.) Girls are given the names of lamaistic or Taoist female divinities or the names of flowers.

Many children, both boys and girls, are given a name that records the age of their father's mother when they were born, such as "sixty," or "sixty-five." The name of the father's father is given in this way only if the father's mother is no longer living. Among the Chinese of this region, on the other hand, a child is fre-

553 quently named according to the age of the grandfather but never according to the age of the grandmother. Among the Manchus, the child is not named until it is a full year old, and it is customary to give the first son the name of the oldest son of the father's oldest brother.[27]

553 608 When, as described above, a man is invited to act as "dry father," the name that he gives to a boy as a personal name is his own clan name, combined with the Chinese words *chia pao*, so that the child is known as Lichiapao or Machiapao, "Protected by the Li family," or "Protected by the Ma family." In an analogous way, if an influential man has visited the family about the time when the boy was born, his name may be given to the boy.[28]

553 Sometimes in a poor family the mother will take her son in her arms on the twenty-ninth day and go out to the highway where she will prostrate herself before the first traveler she meets and ask him to give his name to the boy. In such cases, it is good luck if the mother meets an influential person. I myself was once riding on a journey when a woman with a child in her arms prostrated herself before me in this manner. She was a woman who had seen me before and recognized me. Turning her smiling face up to me and with a light in her eyes she said "Are you not the Father? Today I am a happy mother; I will name my child Shenfupao—Protected by the Priest." This custom, it should be noted, is never followed in the case of a first-born son.

While living among the Monguors I never heard names describing bodily deformities, nor names such as Five Pounds, or Seven Pounds, recording the weight of the child at birth, or Big Horse, Second Mule, Small Cow. Such names are used by the Chinese of this region, but not by the Monguors. On the other hand, both Monguors and Chinese sometimes give names such as Bad Son, Whom the Dogs Will Not Eat, Monstrous Boy, Monstrous Girl. Such names are intended to deceive the evil spirits, so that they will pass by the "Bad Boy" and choose some other victim.[29]

553 851 The actual giving of the name, as already described, takes place in the privacy of the father's extended family, without the presence of the mother's relatives or other guests. The mother's parents and her maternal uncles arrive about noon, and at the same time representatives of each family in the village come to take part in the festivities. Tea is first served and then the father and the mother with her child in her arms prostrate themselves nine times before the whole gathering while the mother says "The boy is paying homage."

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[27] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 119.

[28] Thus Chingis Khan was given the name of Temujin, after an important prisoner whom his father had captured at the time he was born.—O. L.

[29] This practice among the Monguors may not be due solely to Chinese influence. Among the Western Mongols, especially the Torguts of the Altai, who are remote from Chinese influence, it is also very common to give names of this kind.—O. L.

553 851 When the child has been admired and the parents congratulated, the mother's mother presents her with sixteen loaves of steamed bread, four loaves baked in oil, a leg of mutton, and some clothes—a gown, a pair of trousers, or a jacket. The costliness of the clothes varies according to the wealth of the family. The mother's mother also presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes and a fine cap. A special custom, the significance of which I was unable to discover, is that the family of the father's mother and the family of the mother's mother each present the midwife with a piece of red cotton cloth four feet long.

431 553 851 A practical present from a guest to the young mother is 100 pierced copper cash on a red cord, or a four foot piece of red or green cotton cloth. Another common gift is an embroidered cap for the boy, or, following Chinese custom, a "long life lock"—a small brass lock hung around the boy's neck. Rich families are frequently given scrolls with Chinese texts inscribed on them. The boy's maternal uncle gives him "flowers of long life"—a pair of earrings, each studded with a small flower. The boy wears these in childhood and when he grows up he buys himself a larger pair. These earrings are supposed to insure him a long life.

When the presents have been given the father of the child offers wine to each guest, beginning with the child's maternal uncles; and to each guest, as the wine is offered, the mother prostrates herself with the child in her arms and says "The boy prostrates himself and thanks you."

FEAST IN THE VILLAGE

553 527 851 A merry crowd of village youngsters then leads into the courtyard a cow whose horns have been painted red and decorated with flowers. A red-painted bell hangs around the cow's neck, and she is saddled with a fine saddle and a bright saddle-rug. The grandfather is invited by the youngsters to ride on the cow, and willy nilly he has to accept this invitation. The youngsters help him up to the saddle and then hold the child up for him to take it in his arms. The cow is then led in triumph through the village, two banners from the temple at the head of the procession, drums beating and all the guests following the cow and its rider. When they return to the courtyard, the grandfather offers the young people two bottles of wine, two legs of mutton, and bowls of noodles and wheat fried in butter. This part of the entertainment is noisy and merry.

If the father's father is no longer living, it is the father's mother who has to make the triumphal ride on the cow. Otherwise the father's mother's share of the ceremonies consists in presenting to the mother of her daughter-in-law two loaves of bread, two strings of pierced copper cash, and a scarf of felicity. As she does so, she bows, presents a cup of wine, and thanks her daughter-in-law's mother for accepting the invitation to the feast and wishes her joy and happiness.

Up to this point the whole village has taken part in

553 851 527 the festivities, except for the herdsmen and shepherds who are out in the hills. They must not be overlooked, however, for the tradition of the nomadic past of the Monguors assures them a part. When the sun is deep in the west, therefore, the father and mother take their child and go out to a place beyond the village, which has been previously agreed upon. The father takes with him a bottle of wine and twelve rolls of bread, eight of which are to be distributed to passers-by met along the road and four to be given to the shepherds.

The shepherds have woven a long girdle for the child from wool as white as snow, and this they present to the child. They also have with them some copper coins, and these they place kindly on the milk-swollen breast of the happy mother. They crowd around to see the child and pat its soft cheeks with their rough and calloused hands. When they congratulate the mother, they present her with a small bundle of whitest wool, plucked from the backs of young sheep, saying "This wool has been gathered from the backs of hundreds of the most beautiful sheep; may your boy grow up to shear the wool of hundreds of sheep and may he have hundreds of horses to ride." The four rolls of bread are then presented to the shepherds, together with a cup of wine and some copper coins for each man. The mother invites the shepherds to dinner, the herds are driven to their stalls, and the shepherds dine and make merry all night in the courtyard.

I have often seen this simple, pastoral, and idyllic spectacle outside the village at sundown, the happy parents, the faithful shepherds, and the flocks and herds around them making a wonderful picture that recalls the past of centuries ago when the Monguors were a pastoral people. Even the traditional words of greeting and congratulation used by the shepherds are an echo of this nomadic past.

All the details that I have described emphasize the importance attached by the Monguors to the birth of a boy who will grow up to sacrifice to the ancestors and be himself a new link in the ancestral chain. The ceremonies are observed in full, as I have described them, only for the first son of each daughter-in-law in the extended family. For younger sons and for girls all that is required is that the grandfather give a name and that the parents and maternal uncles of the mother be invited. In poor families, of course, the celebration is less elaborate; but well to do families often help their poorer neighbors with the expenses of a feast for the first-born son.

DEDICATION OF THE CHILD TO THE SPIRITS

852 When a family has few children, or has had several children die, a child is often dedicated to some particular spirit. The dedication is seldom done for a first boy in good health. Very seldom is the child dedicated to a deity of the lama-Buddhist pantheon, for in that case the boy is supposed to have to become a lama later.

A first-born sick child, the future head of a new family, is never dedicated to such spirits. Usually the child is dedicated to one of the Taoist spirits whose statues are honored in the temple of the village, or to the twelve Tengris of the shamans. The shaman, accordingly, is the usual performer of the ceremony, which is most often carried out in the village temple, but may be enacted at home, in which case the shaman is invited to bring with him the picture of the deity to which the child is to be dedicated. In the case of a son the ceremony is performed when he is twenty-nine days old, in the case of a girl when she is thirty days old.

The child is taken to the temple. Thirteen rolls of steamed bread are offered to the spirit and a piece of red cotton cloth five feet in length is hung on the statue of the deity while incense and boughs of cypress are burned before the statue. The shaman then takes from the statue a piece of cloth which had been previously offered in a similar ceremony, tears a strip from it and wraps it around the neck of the child. He then prays for a while, sitting with his legs crossed under him, beating his shaman drum, and then ties knots in the strip of cloth. Then he takes a loop of the rope used at the religious ceremony of the spring festival. This rope is made up of small loops of hemp around which the spirits are supposed to have descended from heaven to bless the community. It is therefore a sacred and powerful talisman. The loop of rope is covered with a tightly sewn cover of red cotton cloth. It is taken from the statue and attached to the neck of the child with a red cord. This loop of rope has the Chinese name *malu sheng* or "the rope of the highway." Some people fasten the two ends of the loop with a "lock of longevity" carved from peach wood.[30] When such a lock is used, a small arrow, made of willow wood, is sewn in a cover of red cotton cloth and attached to the back of the child's clothes. The use of the lock and the arrow is Chinese in origin and is intended to increase the effectiveness of the shamanistic rites for protection from evil spirits.

If the parents still have doubts and are not satisfied with the effectiveness of the rites that have been performed, they may take some hair from a white dog, wrap it in red cotton cloth folded in a triangle, and sew it under the child's armpit; for a dog does not die easily, and by sympathetic magic it is hoped that the child will be resistant to death. Other people wrap a clove of garlic in the same way, because the smell of garlic drives away evil spirits. Another talisman is made by taking a piece of paper which has been soaked in blood taken from a vein in the arm of a shaman while he was in a trance (as happens at the spring observances) wrapped and sewn in the same way. This is considered the most efficient of all talismans.

The loop of the "rope of the highway" is worn for five, seven, nine, or thirteen years, and during the whole of this time the child is considered to be dedicated to the tutelary spirit. During these years the child's head may not be shaved; though some people shave everything except the crown of the head, where the hair is allowed to grow and is braided in a "pigtail."

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[30] The peach is itself one of the Chinese symbols of longevity. —O. L.

At about the age of thirteen, when the child is supposed to have passed successfully the dangerous years of infancy, it can be released from its "dedication"; but this requires a special ceremony, because in theory the intention is supposed to have been to dedicate the child to the deity for the whole of its life.

The ceremony of release, like the ceremony of dedication, is performed by shamans. The ceremony—which is never omitted, for fear that misfortune may overtake the child—must be performed either at the temple or at the home of the shaman, in the presence of the picture or the statue of the deity to which the child is dedicated.

The father goes to the temple with the boy and some friends. He offers thirteen rolls of steamed bread on the altar of the deity, a whole piece of red cotton cloth, and three strings of coins. He also takes to the temple a cock, a winnowing basket, a red rope five or seven yards in length, a comb, a small broom, a roll of bread, and a pair of scissors. The shaman ties one end of the rope to the statue and the other to the neck of the boy. Sitting cross-legged, he beats his drum and prays, while all those present kneel on the ground. The shaman then cuts the rope with the scissors, close to where it is tied to the statue. He takes the loose end made by the cut and ties it around the neck of the cock. He then cuts a tuft of hair from the boy, combs it, and puts it in the winnowing basket with the broom. The loaf of bread and the scissors are also placed in the basket.

One of those who has accompanied the father to the temple then takes the basket; another carries the cock, which is still attached by the red rope to the boy, and starts toward the boy's home, with the boy walking on the left side of the man who is carrying the cock. The whole of the way home the man carrying the basket repeatedly cries out at the top of his voice, calling the name of the boy: "Boy So-and-So, did he come home?" The man carrying the cock replies in the same loud voice "Yes, he is here," at the same time teasing and stirring up the cock to make it crow. When they reach the gate into the family courtyard the whole group stand for awhile repeating the same question and response. Finally they enter the courtyard where the whole family, all in their best clothes, are drawn up as if they were waiting for a distinguished guest. They bow and congratulate the boy as if he had come from a great distance, and lead him to the main room. Here the rope is untied and the cock is released in the courtyard.

The boy is seated on the *k'ang,* where he behaves as if he were a distinguished guest, drinking tea and eating some of the bread brought home in the basket. Then the rope by which he had been tied to the cock, which is still around his neck, is untied and all the talismans that had been sewn in his clothing during the period of his "dedication" are taken and placed in the winnowing basket. The contents of the basket are put at the place on the *k'ang* where the boy sleeps, and covered with the basket, upside down. The boy's head is then shaved, and he is free. A dinner follows, for all who took part in the ceremony.

On the third day after the ceremony the contents of the basket are taken away and buried in a far off, hidden place. The cock is allowed to grow old. He may not be killed, and when he dies may not be eaten. He is known as "the cock of longevity," and is treated in the same way as sacred or dedicated animals.

Girls dedicated to a tutelary spirit are liberated in the same way as boys. Most children, when they are liberated, are given back the name that they were given at birth. In addition to children who are "dedicated" in this way when they are very small, as a protective measure, children are frequently "dedicated" when they fall seriously ill.

The importance of the "cock of longevity" is illustrated by the following story. A boy of the Ngao family threw a stone and accidentally killed a "cock of longevity" belonging to the Li family. The incident threatened to become of life and death importance, because the life of a boy in the Li family depended on the cock, and the Li family was prepared to bring suit before the Li T'u-ssu, the chief of the clan. The village elders, however, proposed settlement of the incident by compromise. At a public meeting on the village threshing floor, attended by the whole community, old and young, men and women, boys and girls, it was decided to abide by the decision of an old and experienced shaman who was requested to think of a way to save the life of the Li boy. His solution was that a new cock was to be provided and a bolt of red cotton cloth offered to the tutelary deity, while he, as shaman, would say prayers in expiation of the outrage. In addition, the elders ordered the Ngao family to defray all expenses, to make an apology to the Li family, and to bring the Li family as an offering a sheep with horns adorned with a piece of red cotton cloth, while fire crackers were to be set off at the entrance to the Li family courtyard and within the courtyard.

In families where there are few children or where one of the children has been dedicated to a deity, a lovely and naive ceremony can be seen. On the sixth or seventh birthday of the boy for whom the ceremony is to be performed, the parents invite a lama of the Yellow Hat sect to say the "prayers for a peaceful life" on his behalf. These prayers are said in the early morning. Later in the day the boy's maternal uncle, some of the oldest men of the village, and the members of the family are invited to a dinner for which a sheep has been specially slaughtered. The boy, guided by one of his brothers (a person of the same generation is required, but

852a may be either a real brother or a classificatory brother) is introduced to the guests. He takes a taper sputtering in vegetable oil, lights a lamp with it, and carries the lamp into the courtyard, offers it to Heaven, and all the spirits, burns boughs of cypress, and, accompanied by his brother, makes nine prostrations to Heaven and all the spirits. Returning to the main room, he makes the same offerings and prostrations to his tutelary spirit.

The boy then pours wine for each of the guests, beginning with his maternal uncle, inviting them to drink and be happy. Noodles are then served to all, but the boy's own bowl is only partly filled, in order to allow each of the guests to put some of his noodles in the boy's bowl, congratulating him cordially and wishing him a long and happy life. The significance of this part of the ceremony is that the longevity of the old men present is supposed to be conferred upon the boy, assuring him a long life. I was fortunate enough to witness this simple and wonderful rite and was delighted to see how the old men carried it out in a manner imbued with religious feeling and kindliness.

778 Parents who do not "dedicate" a child also protect them with talismans. If they go to a lama, he will write 755 a Tibetan prayer which he wraps in red cotton cloth to be hung around the neck of the child with a thin cord. At night it must be hung on a nail on the wall. If the child forgets to take it off and hang it up, it is considered to have been defiled and must be purified in the smoke of cypress boughs in order to restore its efficacy. If they go to a Chinese Taoist priest, he will write the Chinese character for "longevity" on a sheet of paper, adding a cabalistic design. The paper is then wrapped in red cotton cloth, folded in a triangle, and sewed on the back of the child's clothes. Either a lama or a Taoist priest will perform this service in return for a small present.

858 Respect for the lives of children is deeply rooted in the patrilineal family system. The rare instances of infanticide that I noted in my earlier study, *Le mariage chez les T'u-jen* (p. 105) are due to the influence of the Chinese, among whom this practice is not unusual. Among the Monguors, children are the golden threads interwoven in the fabric of life. A mother is bound by her love for her children and rarely leaves her hearth to live with another man. Her orientation toward her children is fortified by the respect for family obligations in which she herself has been brought up. Mothers who are unable to suckle their children easily find another woman in the village who will act as wet nurse. If a mother dies leaving young children, everyone is willing to help take care of them. When a child is sick, the whole village is in a hustle and bustle to try to help save its life, and when a child dies the consternation and sorrow are general and real. The religious observances on behalf of sick children will be discussed in a future work on the religious life of the Monguors. [P. 104 b]

EDUCATION OF THE CHILD

603 In their early years children are brought up as much by their grandparents as by their parents. The grandfather and grandmother play with the children all day long, carrying them on their backs, holding them in their arms, fondling them, and making slaves of themselves like devoted nursemaids—and the children love them as they would a nurse. The children know very well that it is to their grandparents that they must look for sweets and candies and extra delicacies, and that when grandfather goes for a walk they may go along with him. Boys and girls are treated with the same affection.

603 606 In this relationship lies the deepest secret of why daughters-in-law become attached to the families into which they marry. Although a girl is not consulted about her marriage, although she comes to know her husband only after she has been married to him, and although she lives in an extended household where she must adjust herself to the other daughters-in-law, the fondness of the grandparents for her children goes a long way to smooth inevitable frictions and jealousies.

882 It is when the boys begin to grow up that they cease to be regarded as children and lose some of their intimate contact with their grandparents. They like to leave the family courtyard to play with other boys; and as they get bigger, small jobs are assigned to them. They begin to go out with the herds and flocks to the pastures, to help with the farming, and to learn from their fathers how to make tools. The girls help their mother in the kitchen, gather fuel, tend animals in the stalls and stables, and learn to sew. Before she is married, each girl works on her "hope chest," and under her mother's direction prepares most of the clothes that she will take with her when she marries, including the embroidered girdle and the monumental ceremonial hat and fancy boots. Through learning to cook and sew, to look after animals, and to understand farming in her own family, a girl learns how to become a good daughter-in-law.

867 The Monguors are not a people who have a fondness for learning. There are few villages that have a school, and in any case girls never go to school. The education for life of both boys and girls is mainly in the family. Children are not prevented from watching and listening to anything that goes on in the crowded extended family and in the village. At a very early age they know which woman in the village is pregnant and when the birth of the child is expected. They know how many animals are owned by each family in the village, how many colts, calves, and lambs there are; how the harvest has turned out and what the current prices are for the horses, cows, sheep, goats, skins, wool, wheat, and millet that the villagers have to sell and what the prices are for the cotton cloth, thread, needles, salt, spices, and so forth that they buy.

A boy accompanies his father to the nearest market town when he goes there to sell wheat and sees the shops, the soldiers, and the crowds. At the monastery festivals

867 boys accompany their father and girls their mother and there they see the horse races and the merrymaking, the dancing and the singing.

869 In their religious life there are no churches, for the temples are not churches. Children never hear sermons or receive formal instruction in religion; but every morning they see grandfather honoring "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the house, and they can go up there with him and make their prostrations as he does. All day long they hear him whispering his "Om Mani" as he fingers his Buddhist rosary, and they learn to pray with him. Similarly they watch their mother honoring the god of the hearth, and on the first and fifteenth of the month they see the burning of the incense and cypress boughs before the family altar. Everything that they see they ask about; and though their elders give them explanations that are closer to folklore than to theology, the children readily accept and believe the marvelous stories that they hear about Buddhas and other deities. Through watching the religious rites at monasteries and village temples and taking part in the family ceremonies for the veneration of ancestors and for deaths and marriages, children acquire, not so much a formal creed as a definite religious attitude that is a part of their social outlook.

867 The village threshing floor is almost as important a factor as the family in the education of a child. It is at public meetings at the threshing floor that the elders of the village and the village chief make all their decisions in community matters. Compromise is the prevailing rule of all such decisions, resort to the law being only a last expedient, and compromise in a village can only be reached through long discussion and public comment. The older generation takes it for granted that children should be brought to such meetings. Women and girls are as much interested as men and boys. Because from childhood they have heard disputes with neighboring villages settled at the threshing floor, men and women alike know the boundaries of their own villages, and what wood lots in the mountains belong to their village and where fuel can be obtained. They know also that there is a sacred hill on which fuel may not be obtained, because they can remember when somebody was publicly punished by beating at the meeting for breaking the tabu. Similarly they know that each family must pay its share for keeping up the cult of the clan ancestors and the religious observances of the village, because they have seen people punished and harshly reproved by the elders for attempting to evade payment of their share.

Not only have they seen men lashed and hung up by their thumbs for theft and other crimes, but they have seen young women beaten and shamed before the whole community for scandalous behavior toward their elders or for escapades with men.

They hear, moreover, every detail that goes with every story, no matter how intimate and delicate, including

867 quarrels among husbands and wives. It is thus that they acquire a training in what is allowed and what is not allowed in their own society, and can absorb exact knowledge of what constitutes authority in the family and the village.

INSTITUTIONAL KINSHIP

608 The custom of "sworn brotherhood" is ancient in Mongol society and is widespread in Asia. The purpose of the institution is to bind together two or more men either for aid and support in general or for specific purposes. Sworn brotherhood is binding only on the individuals concerned and not on family or social groups to which they belong. Men need not belong to the same clan in order to swear brotherhood; in fact the institution probably arose out of the necessity for mutual loyalty in situations not covered by clan or family loyalty. Thus a Monguor will swear brotherhood not only with other Monguors but with Mongols, Tibetans, Chinese, or Muslims. Nor does difference in social condition matter, because a rich man may take the oath with a poor man and even a T'u-ssu with one of his subjects. Women, however, are very seldom "sworn sisters," and man and women are never "sworn brother and sister."

The oath then can be taken under various conditions. Men whose purpose is not honorable will take the oath at night, in secrecy, while those whose purpose is honorable will act quite openly, taking the oath either at the home of one of them or in the village temple.

Among the Monguors the rite requires that a sheep, goat, or chicken be killed, some of its blood gathered in a bowl, and wine added. Holding incense sticks in their joined hands, the two or more men who are going to take the oath of brotherhood prostrate themselves simultaneously before a picture or statue of the temple deity, or before "Heaven and all the spirits." Each then makes a prostration to the other as they swear solemnly an oath of mutual aid and support, calling for punishment from the spirits in case of falsehood or disloyalty. Each puts on the other's head the picture of the spirit who is being invoked, or a book containing Tibetan prayers, and both (or all) drink the blood of the sacrificial animals, mixed with wine.[31] If there are more than two taking the oath, each is given a number and from then on they address each other only by number, as "big brother number 1," "number 2," and so on. While such an oath may be taken perfectly openly, there is often about it an air of secrecy and of something reprehensible, which is not strange in view of the fact that rebellions in China have traditionally been started by bands of sworn brothers.

After the rite has been performed, the brothers present each other with articles of clothing, such as a hat or a pair of boots.

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[31] R. Grousset, *Empire des steppes,* 268, Paris, Payot, 1939, notes that when Wang Khan of the Keraits made peace with Chingis Khan, he sent him "blood contained in a cowhorn," to be used at the time of the swearing of the oath. [P. 106a]

608 The Monguors, in taking this oath, never open a vein and drink their own blood as was done traditionally among the Turks and Mongols, among whom this kind of institutional brotherhood is known by the term *anda*.[32] In this ceremony each man opened a vein in his arm, mixed the blood in a cup with milk or fermented milk-wine, in the presence of witnesses, and thereafter each was not only the sworn brother of the other, but each enjoyed in his blood-brother's clan the same rights and privileges as if he were born from the same womb, and conversely was bound by the obligations expected of an elder or younger brother.[33]

Analogous ceremonies are known from the Polar regions to southern Asia. In the region of the Behring Straits, among the Koryaks, Italmen, and Yukagirs, a dinner is given, at which the men pledge mutual aid. Among the Koryaks and Yukagirs there is an exchange of possessions. Women and girls may also swear friendship or sisterhood in this manner.[34]

Among the Tungus the custom seems to be relatively recent and to have spread directly from the Chinese and indirectly from the Chinese through the Manchus. In taking the oath, the Tungus pray to the spirit of Heaven. Shirokogoroff considers that this is a borrowed custom because within Tungus society the relations of persons belonging to different clans were quite satisfactorily regulated.[35]

In Southwest China, among the Miao of the Province of Kueichou a cat is killed and its blood is mixed with wine and drunk;[36] in another account of Miao ceremony, Legendre notes that there are no religious ceremonies and that a dog is killed and its blood mixed with wine and drunk.[37]

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782 Monguors, in addition to taking as witnesses "Heaven and all the spirits" or a temple deity, may invoke the buildings of a temple, or a well-known scripture such as the Kandjur or Tandjur, or a Living Buddha. The curses that are invoked in case of disloyalty are worded in such phrases as: "If I break my oath, may I be a man who has eaten the flesh of his own parents"; or "A man

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[32] The difference between *anda* sworn brotherhood and the institution of *nukur*, which has been mentioned above, is that the *nukur* was more purely military; he was a "man-at-arms" who, instead of serving in tribal ranks where loyalty and discipline were automatically covered by tribal sanctions, declared himself to be henceforth the follower of some military leader to whom he owed no blood-allegiance, but to whom henceforth he would profess a loyalty transcending that to clan and tribe. In the *anda* institution there was seniority, but also an equality of brotherhood. In the *nukur* relationship there was the strict subordination of the follower to the leader.—O. L.

[33] Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 61, Paris, 1896.

[34] Hubert Konig, Das Recht der Polarvölker, *Anthropos* 22: 736, 1927.

[35] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Tungus*, as cited, 736.

[36] P. A. Schotter, Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus aborigènes du Kouy-tcheou, *Anthropos* 3: 419, 1908.

[37] A. F. Legendre, *Le far-west chinois*, 448, Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1910.

[P. 106 b]

608 782 who has eaten the pig of the Dalai Lama"; or "If I break my oath, may I be thrown into the deepest of the eighteen Hells"; or "May I be punished through nine reincarnations"; or "If I am false to my oath, may I be killed"; or "May I have my eyes burned out." The oaths, both positive and negative, are followed by the declaration "Now we are as brothers who have suckled the milk of the same mother."

The oaths are taken very seriously. There is great fear of the retribution for perjury. There is a saying that "Poison kills only the man who drinks it but perjury brings the death of his whole family."

608 Sworn brothers call on each other and present gifts at New Year, at the Spring Festival of the Fifth Moon, and at the Autumn Festival, or "Feast of the Dead" on the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. They invite each other to marriages and funerals like members of the family. In case of clan blood feud, a sworn brother must give help and support as if he were a blood brother. A case of this kind is recorded among the Mongols of the late twelfth century. The father of Chingis was the sworn brother of Wang Khan of the Keraits. After the death of his father and after his wife had been stolen from him by the Merkits, Chingis and his brother went to Wang Khan and presented him with the sable gown that was part of the dowry of Chingis' wife and begged for his support, and Wang Khan declared war on the Merkits.[38]

In some families, the sons of sworn brothers often swear the same oath, and it is common for sworn brothers to give their children to each other in marriage. Often the ties between sworn brothers are more intense and personal than those of blood brothers.

608 685 Among the variations of the sworn brother relationship, a rich man not engaged in crime himself may become a sworn brother with known thieves as a protection against being robbed by them. An influential man will in fact rarely refuse the oath of brothership if it is proposed to him by a noted thief. In carrying out his side of the relationship the "respectable" sworn brother will help the thief when he is short of money and use his influence to get him off if he has been caught. Most of the thieves and robbers in the Monguor country are sworn brothers, linked in one group, and when one of them takes the oath with a rich man he informs the others and none of them will do the rich man harm.

608 It is also true that honest people take the oath together in order either to strengthen already friendly relations, or to organize themselves as a group for mutual protection. In one case of my own knowledge a poor Monguor swore the oath with a rich man who helped him get his affairs on a sound footing. The poor man was honest and loyal and in time he became a man of substance. The relations between these two were as intimate as if they had been real brothers.

608 648 It is common for a rich Monguor to become the sworn brother of the chief of a Tibetan tribe, as a means of se-

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[38] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-khan*, as cited, 27.

608 curing the opportunity to pasture his large flocks of sheep on the Tibetan grazing grounds. Similarly, a
648 Muslim will take the oath with a Monguor in order to increase and improve his wool and skin business by
[282] having, within the territory of the clan of his Monguor friend, a protector for his business and a home at which to stay. The Monguor benefits by being able to stay with his Muslim brother for several days at a time when making trips outside of Monguor territory.

Another special application of the institution of sworn brothers will be noted when we come to the description of the trading caravans that travel into and through Tibetan territory, and of the fishing engaged in by the Monguors in the waters of Kukunor lake.

608 In contrast to the tradition in the time of Chingis Khan that after the death of a sworn brother his son might appeal to the surviving sworn brother, among the Monguors the family of a sworn brother who has died has no continuing obligation. The oath may be taken for a limited period and for the achievement of a specific purpose, and be terminated when the purpose has been achieved. The oath may also be formally terminated under other conditions. Thus, in one case of which I knew, three young men in the district of Tolong took the oath together. Six months later they invited an old man to become their "sworn father." A goat was killed and the ceremony was carried out. For three years the three young men were faithful sworn brothers and showed toward their "sworn father" the devotion of true sons. The relationship was publicly known. After three years, however, gossip began to spread. People wondered why this oath had been taken when the district was at peace. It was suggested that perhaps they had subversive intentions of some kind and that harm might come to the whole community. Eventually the chief and elders of the village summoned both the sworn brothers and their sworn "father" before them and ordered them to abjure their relationship at a ceremony at the village temple, in the presence of the whole community.

Among Monguor women the equivalent or partial equivalent of "blood brotherhood" is to become "dry sisters." This relationship is only between two women; it is not extended to a group of more than two. The two who agree to be "dry sisters" do not swear an oath, but present each other with a piece of clothing and sit down to a meal together. They visit each other at New Year's, on the fifth day of the fifth month, and go to help each other in time of sickness. They invite each other to such celebrations as those for childbirth and marriage.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

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596 The division of the inheritance is one of the most difficult of all problems in the extended family of the patrilineal Monguor society. It usually takes place when the grandfather dies and the sons decide to set up sepa-

[P. 107b]

428 596 rate "chimneys." The decision to separate has usually, in such cases, been foreshadowed by quarrels and resentment among the sons, making it inevitable that when the actual division of the inheritance takes place there are bitter disputes.

In order to make a satisfactory settlement possible, the sons usually invite the chief of the village and the village elders, the senior representatives of their own patrilineal kin, and of course their own maternal uncle and those of their wives to take part in the discussion, which takes place in the open air at the threshing floor, witnessed by the population of the whole village. Such a discussion may take several days. Each maternal uncle is the advocate of his own sister's son, the seniors of the patrilineal kin represent the common interest of the patrilineal line, and the village chief and elders are the voices of the community.

In this discussion every possible proposal and compromise is put forward in order to secure an agreement that will leave no smoldering feud behind among the brothers. Finally contracts are written, a sheep is slaughtered, and a dinner is given to the elders to thank them for their services. The brothers prostrate themselves before each other to signify that, though they have broken up the extended family, they are still on good terms.

The property that is thus divided is of several kinds. Among any people, riches are relative to the economic system as a whole. Since the Monguors have become agricultural, land is the most valuable property. Since the tradition of cattle breeding still continues, however, livestock are also important. In addition houses, agricultural implements, clothes, and money must be considered.

The basis on which division must be determined is the fact that under the patrilineal system the entire extended family, with authority concentrated in the grandfather, is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements, and money, with individual property restricted to a few personal possessions. As long as the extended family holds together, all of its members produce for the common benefit and what is to be done with what they earn is decided by the head of the family.

Since, under the patrilineal system, sons alone may inherit, the property is first divided into as many shares as there are sons with the modification, already noted above, that the eldest son receives an extra large share and the eldest son of the eldest son also receives a special share; a son who has become a lama, however (and therefore will have no legitimate heirs), receives no share at all.

The sons of a son who has died are entitled to receive and divide their father's share. A son who has been adopted by his father's brother inherits from his adopted father and not from his real father. Similarly, a son who has been given to be adopted by a non-related family loses his rights of inheritance in his family of origin.

[p. 108a]

428 596 If one of the sons has died without having sons of his own and without having adopted a son, his share is divided among his brothers.

583 428 If, in order to acquire a wife, a man has contracted to work all his life in his wife's family he loses all right of inheritance in his family of origin, although he retains his original surname or clan name. Such a man may try to claim a share in the inheritance of his wife's family, but the claim is usually contested and settled by some sort of compromise—indicating that this kind of marriage is in itself a makeshift, not fully provided for by the rules and customs of the society. As I have pointed out in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 118–119) the right of such a man to inherit from his family of origin is academic, since he would not have left his family for the sake of this kind of marriage unless his family had been so poor that it could offer him no inheritance worth having.

The customs of inheritance show the difference between "marriage with the pole" and "marriage with the girdle." The girl who "marries with the pole" does not leave the clan or lose her clan name; consequently, her children, by unknown or unacknowledged fathers, bear the clan name and remain in the clan, which entitles them to a share in the inheritance as if their mother had in fact been their father. In the case of the girl who "marries with the girdle" on the other hand the father is known and acknowledged, as explained above. The girl takes the clan name of this man, even though he may never return, and consequently her child or children do not bear her clan name and are not entitled to share in the inheritance.

428 It is fully in accordance with the patrilineal principle that husband and wife do not inherit from each other or from each other's families. An exception to this rule is that the widow of the head of an extended family always receives some land and livestock from her husband. The exception is only partial and temporary however, as the widow lives with one of her sons, generally the youngest, who inherits this property after her death.[39]

Because of the strong influence of Tibetan society on that of the Monguors, a word should be said about the Tibetan rules of inheritance. In my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 49), I mentioned that in the speech made by the master of ceremonies at a Mon-

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[39] This arrangement corresponds to the ancient custom in pastoral nomadic society under which (*a*) the sons as they grew up were provided with wives and given a share of the cattle, whereupon they could move away and set up independent camps, leaving the youngest son as guardian of the parents in their old age and sole heir to the residual family property at their death; and (*b*) if a man had secondary wives, these were, at his death, inherited by his sons with the exception that the first wife could not be inherited by any of the sons and no secondary wife could be inherited by her own son, thus making it necessary to provide for the senior wife until her death. These principles are obviously rooted in the fact that when livestock, instead of land, are the most important property, dispersal may be convenient in order to avoid crowding the pastures.—O. L.

428 guor marriage there is a hint of a custom under which, at the division of the paternal inheritance, a daughter was entitled to a share amounting to half of the share received by a son. I now doubt very much whether this reference is really an echo of a formerly existing Monguor custom. On the one hand, it does not correspond to the clearly expressed principles of Monguor inheritance, and on the other hand it tallies exactly with the rules of inheritance of those Tibetans whom the Chinese call Hsifan, who are the nearest Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors. A large number of families of Tibetan origin are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and there are many marriages between Monguors and Tibetans. The Tibetan custom is well known to the Monguors, and since it is favorable to the woman it must be a topic of conversation among Monguor women and may through this channel have crept into the phraseology of the master of ceremonies as an expression that is flattering to the bride but has no legal validity for the ultimate division of the inheritance.

Among the Tibetans, if the inheritance is divided before the death of the parents, the parents receive four parts of all the money in the family, sons receive two parts, grandsons one part, and unmarried daughters also receive one part. This division corresponds exactly to the reference in the speech by the Monguor master of ceremonies at a marriage. (Tibetan granddaughters and married daughters receive nothing.)

In the division of grain, each person—parents, sons, and daughters—receives one part.[40] In the division of cattle, the parents receive three parts, the sons two parts, the grandsons one part, and the sons of unmarried girls also one part. This division tallies exactly with the Monguor custom of giving a share to the children of a daughter who "marries with the pole," suggesting that this form of marriage is influenced by the Tibetan custom under which a daughter may stay at home and bear children for her own family instead of marrying and going to her husband's family. In the division of livestock these unmarried girls do not receive horses, but they receive as many cows as their brothers receive horses.

When the inheritance is thus divided before the death of the father, the Tibetan father goes to live with one of the sons and the mother with another. The unmarried daughter who has a son must make her own living. If she later has another son, he must become a lama. If such a girl later marries, her inheritance belongs to her.

422 Certain kinds of property among the Monguors are recognized as personal and not subject to family inheritance. Each person owns his own clothes. A man who engages in hunting is the owner of his own gun. A man who does part time work as a silver smith or maker of knives is the owner of the tools of his trade.

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[40] This scale of division, not favoring either the parents or the sons, suggests that grain is a late addition to the Tibetan economy, and of secondary importance.—O. L.

[p. 109a]

412 Women also own personal property, including their clothes and jewelry, which are for the most part presents from the woman's own family. It has also been noted above that it is customary for a girl's maternal uncle to give her, before she is married, some land and calves, or to plant some trees for her, and to give her in addition, when she is married, some land and some more animals. The maternal uncle looks after this property for her. Similarly, sisters entrust their personal treasures to the care of a brother or brothers. Thus a married woman has a kind of insurance in the form of property that is partly in the care of a brother and partly in the care of one of her mother's brothers. (Among the circum-Polar peoples, including the Koryaks, Chukchis, and Lapps there is also "women's property"; livestock belonging to a woman before marriage, or given her by her father at the time of marriage, remain her personal property.)[41]

A woman's property may continue to increase after her marriage. When she goes to visit her own family, they frequently give her presents of cotton cloth, clothes, or money. Monguor women have also adopted from Chinese women the practice of keeping chickens. In the extended family, each daughter-in-law has her own chickens, the eggs of which she collects herself and is allowed to sell. In addition, after the crops are threshed the gleanings on the threshing floor are collected and divided by the daughters-in-law. Similarly when opium is harvested the poppy juice is cooked until it becomes thick and gluey. Each individual family in the extended family cooks its own share of the harvest, which must be poured into the kettle of the head of the family; but each daughter-in-law may keep that part of the opium that sticks to the inside of her own kettle without being scraped off— a valuable saving.

Another perquisite is that when peddlers and traveling merchants come around selling sugar, fruit, candies, and cakes to the women and their children it is not unusual for a daughter-in-law to "steal" a little grain from the family granary, while the parents-in-law pretend not to notice, in order to pay for such purchases.

The jewelry and other little treasures that a woman keeps with her in her husband's family are carefully stored in a locked chest in the woman's own room.

CONCLUSIONS

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596 The general conclusions to be drawn from these data on family life seems to be that the children are the hub around which the whole Monguor family turns. The chief of the extended family is a happy man at home and is esteemed in the Monguor society only if he has grandchildren; the sons love their wives only when they bear children; the wives feel that they are important in the family only when they have children and sons. The children build up the morale of all the members of the

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[41] Hubert Konig, *op. cit.*, 625.

[p. 109b]

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family, give them strength and courage in the struggle for the necessities of life, and finally, as I always observed, the love of the grandparents for their grandchildren holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.

MORALITY IN THE MONGUOR FAMILY

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It is a general phenomenon that husbands and wives who really enjoy the delights of a happy family life do not feel the need of indulging themselves with pleasures shocking to each other's feelings. People engrossed the whole year long with the problem of making ends meet, dispose of little time to spend in that way and cannot afford its costs. In order to understand the problem we must take stock of the peculiar conditions under which the members of an extended family live. The sons, with their wives and children, live in the same courtyard, one next to the other, with the chief of the family and his wife among them. Permission for absence must be granted by the chief of the extended family, and because there is only one small gate to enter the courtyard, every visitor is instantly noticed, the reasons for his visit are discussed by all the daughters-in-law, and the length of his stay is well observed. Every one in the courtyard is the guardian of the other members of the family, and so the opportunity for misbehavior at home is reduced to a minimum. These are the conditions of every extended family. There is no secrecy. They live in glass houses. The opportunity for misbehavior in small families consisting of husband, wife, and small children is greater, although these families have next door neighbors whose tongues they cannot prevent from wagging. A married daughter who visits her parents, sometimes for many weeks, is more free since her parents do not have as much commanding influence upon her as when she was a child. Very long visits of married daughters at the home of their parents are discouraged by the older people, who seem to know more about the matter. Attendance at the public meetings when such problems are tackled in the presence of all the very interested villagers and the infliction of dishonorable punishments undoubtedly have a salutary and preventive effect upon the people; but in the Monguor society, as in all other societies, it happens that once in a while somebody falls from grace.

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It is not allowed to the young folk to tell smutty jokes in public or to sing lascivious songs in the village; at weeding time, however, obscene songs are sung in the open fields and allowance seems to be made for that custom. At public festivities, at the lamaseries and at the general assembly of the clan, men and women are

834 used to sing and to dance. It is not at such times that regrettable things happen; but at night, when the festivities are over and most of the people have returned home, it is not unusual to see young couples scatter into the surrounding countryside, into valleys in retired places, and to hear them sing the whole night long, answering each other's songs, each couple hidden in its own place. Allowance seems to be made for such customs at such times; but necessarily these groups are not numerous, for mothers with children have to go home and to take care for them, and all Monguors have children. The morality of the Monguors, who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Monguor families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that worked hard but enjoyed life.

VI. MONGUOR ECONOMIC LIFE

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175 An analysis of the economic life of the Monguors must begin by taking into account the shift from pastoral nomadism to settled farming. The shift probably began gradually when the Mongol conquests in 1275 drove the Tibetans back along the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, and the ancestors of the Monguors occupied the country and began to amalgamate with the Shat'o Turks who were already there. Specific historical data for the Mongol period are scarce, though we know that in 1287 a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, whose Chinese name was Chang Ch'i, was made governor of the region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 8*b*). We know also that the ancestors of the Monguors began to submit to the new Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368–1373, that each T'u-ssu and his clan were then allotted a fixed territory, and that, between 1368 and 1399, 7,200 Chinese families were sent as military colonists to this frontier (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 15*a*).

THE HISTORICAL SHIFT FROM PASTORALISM TO FARMING

The next important date is 1509 when the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau of Tibet began to disturb the frontier with their inroads. From then on all through the period of decline of the Ming dynasty and the wars and disturbances that attended the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 and right up to the great Tibetan uprising of 1723 this frontier country was never long at peace. It was during this long and troubled period that walled towns and villages were built for better defense. We may well assume that it was during this period that the number of livestock decreased, partly because of the border raids and partly because of the difficulty of maintaining large herds in the relatively small side valleys inhabited by the Monguors, with the consequence that the Monguors became more and more dependent on the farms adjacent to their fortified villages.

[P. 110 b]

311 175 In 1723, therefore, when a long period of peace and stability began, the Monguors on the one hand had become farmers rather than herdsmen though they still owned far more livestock than Chinese farmers, and on the other hand communications opened up and trade began to flourish. The great city of Lanchou in Kansu provided a market for grain grown by the Monguors, which could be floated down the Hsining River into the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou. At the same time, with the pacification of Tibet, another market opened up for grain carried by caravan into the high plateau. The population increased, new villages were founded, and the land tax became the main source of revenue of the Monguor T'u-ssu.

The transition was so complete that the Monguors have no longing for a return to the nomadic life. In this they are different from the border Tibetans, among whom the nomadic life still carries more social prestige than settled village life.[1] The Monguors, however, appear to confirm the rule that peoples of Mongol origin, like the Turks, make the shift from pastoralism to agriculture only under the compulsion of events.[2]

FARMING

241 Their farming having developed in contact with the Chinese culture, the Monguors used the farming implements of the Chinese (and not, for instance, those of the Turkish-speaking oasis farmers of Chinese Inner Asia). They buy their plowshares, spades, and other iron tools from Chinese smiths, but make the wooden parts themselves. Their farming is, however, inferior in technique to that of the Chinese. The region is too high and cold for the most intensive kind of Chinese farming, and, therefore both Chinese and Monguor farmers in the highest parts never grow the same crop on the same field for two consecutive years and try to leave each field completely fallow for a year after it has been harvested.

For fields near the villages, composted stable manure is used as a fertilizer. Every other day the women go out and bring in earth in baskets on their backs which they empty in the stables. The animals trample their dung and urine into this earth, and the floor-level of the stalls and the cow and sheep pens is gradually built up. At the end of a year, when the planting season begins, this composted manure is dug out and carried by the pack animals to the fields.

Farther away from the village ashes provide the only fertilizer. In the seventh or eighth moon, after the ground has been softened by a day or two of summer rain, a piece of land is selected and all the livestock are driven out to it and kept there, trampling the sticky earth for a whole day. The next day this top soil is

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[1] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, Chicago, Univ of Chicago Press, 1939, especially pp. 76–79.

[2] Hermann Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, 176, Leipzig, 1885.

241 dug out with spades in the form of large, rough bricks, which are set out in rows to dry. The next spring, before sowing, these bricks are built into a long oven. The outside is plastered with mud, and after incense and boughs of cypress have been burned to propitiate the Spirit of the Earth, a fire is built in the oven. After it has burned for two days the "bricks" have crumbled into ashes. Men and women carry these ashes in baskets on their backs and scatter them on the fields that are to be sown. In some places this heavy work is done by the women alone.

241 782 Plowing and sowing begin on the propitious day and at the appointed hour designated in the old Chinese lunar calendar. Strips of red paper inscribed with auspicious Chinese characters are pasted on all the farming implements and on the horns of the oxen. Red, in the symbolism of the Chinese, is the color for joy, fertility, and good fortune.[3]

At the appointed hour the whole family, all in their best clothes, go to the fields. The procession is led by the head of the family, guiding a plow drawn by a pair of oxen. He plows a furrow in a large circle and then a cross within the circle in such a manner that when the second stroke of the cross is completed the heads of the oxen are pointing in the direction from which, according to geomantic divination, happiness and prosperity are expected to emanate during the year. This direction may vary from year to year. The family then steps into the center of the circle, kneels, and burns incense and boughs of cypress. The head of the family offers to the Spirit of the Earth a large, flat circular loaf of bread in the center of which there is a hole in which he plants incense sticks. The family prostrate themselves while the head of the family pours a libation of wine on the ground and sprinkles wine toward the "six corners" of the universe.[4] The bread is then divided into small pieces and each member of the family, and also the two oxen, are given a piece to eat on the spot. The remainder is broken into crumbs and thrown on the field. All then return home except those who complete the plowing, and sowing begins as soon as the plowing is finished.

The Chinese in this region do not have this custom, and it is possible that the Monguors took it over from the Tibetans who have a similar ceremony of beginning the farming season by blessing the earth and asking the gods for a good harvest and for protection against hail.[5]

241 243 The Monguor field crops are barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp, and potatoes. Very little millet is grown. When the Monguors plow a virgin field, they plant barley for the first six years and wheat only the seventh year, because the earth of such fields is too

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[3] White (which for the Chinese is the color of mourning) is the traditional auspicious and noble color of the Mongols.—O. L.

[4] The four quarters of the compass; upward (for the sky), and downward (for below the surface of the earth).—O. L.

[5] MacDonald, *Mœurs et coûtumes tibétaines*, 229, Paris, Payot, 1930.

[p. 111 b]

241 cold to grow wheat from the beginning and has first to
243 be loosened up and warmed by the sun.

The customs connected with weeding during the growing season are especially worth noting. Men and
241 women take part, the women going to the fields in their best clothes which they change for their working clothes
533 when the work begins. Men and women squat on their heels and work along the furrows of grain, singing as
584 they work. One group answers the songs sung by another group and from time to time all burst into laughter and giggles because these songs are licentious and full of sexual references. Sometimes a man or woman sings a solo, to which all reply in chorus. If a traveler should happen to pass, especially a woman, one of the workers who has a knack for making up a song impromptu will start to sing a description of the traveler, full of suggestive remarks about the supposed purpose of the traveler's journey, with endless lascivious verses about "the way of the lonely hind roaming in search of the stag," and so forth. Only the young people take part in this work, while their elders remain in the family courtyard.

This licentiousness is associated only with the weeding season. The Chinese of this region do not have a similar custom. There are comparable customs, however, in Tibet and also in Southeast Asia; and there were comparable customs among the ancient Sienpi and the ancient Turks. It is open to question whether the Shat'o brought the custom with them when they settled in the region or whether the Monguors learned it from the Tibetans[8] or the Sienpi.

241 The crops are either plucked by hand or harvested with a sickle, the work being done by both men and women. The threshing is done on the village threshing floor with a primitive stone roller pulled by oxen, horses, mules, or donkeys.

In addition to field agriculture there are small gardens close to each courtyard where the women plant vegetables such as onions, garlic, rape, leek, cabbage, pimento, spinach, watermelons, and cantaloupes.

PASTORAL ECONOMY

231 Livestock still rank as the second most important economic resource of the Monguors. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys, and pigs and wherever the pastures are sufficient they own as many sheep and cows as possible. Horses are important for prestige,

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[8] For references to Southeast Asia (Annam, Cambodia, Laos, the White Tai, the Karens of Burma, the Angami Nagas of Assam, and the Miaos and Yaos of Southwest China), see Christopher Fürer-Haimendorff in *Anthropos* **30**: 916, 1935. See also A. Lietard, *Les Lolo-p'o*, 152, Münster i. W., Achendorfsche Verlag, 1913, and D. Doutreligne in *Anthropos* **25**: 163, 1930; also F. M. Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, 224, Hong Kong, Imprimerie des missions étrangères, 1930. For ancient China see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 237, Paris, Boccard, 1927, and R. Granet, *La civilization chinoise* **1**: 190, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[p. 112a]

231 and every well-to-do family keeps a fast, handsome horse with a good saddle and trappings. They will spend freely for the purchase of a showy "Peking" outfit—a saddle edged with brass and trimmed with cloisonne enamel with stirrups to match, and a bright saddle rug. When a horse is unsaddled his head must be pointing to the west. Women as well as men may saddle horses. The Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich. They prefer black horses and cows, it being a shamanistic belief that this color is a good omen for the owner and for the increase of the livestock.

232 The Monguors geld their own horses, many of them being very proficient at this operation. The stallion is thrown on the ground and the region of the operation washed with hot water to sterilize it. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a piece of porcelain from a freshly broken cup. The scrotum is opened and the testicles taken out. Some wine is then poured in the wound, salt rubbed into it, and the wound stitched up with a large needle, which is first "sterilized" by being rubbed in the hair of the man who is to do the stitching. Three or four threads taken from a woman's needle box are twisted together to form a coarse thread for the purpose. Finally, salt is rubbed liberally over the outside of the wound. The horse is walked around the threshing floor during the day and tied to the pole at night, in order to prevent his lying down for a few days. There is seldom a mishap in performing this operation. Some lamas are skilful in performing the operation. Horses are seldom gelded by crushing of the testicles.

787 For this important operation a shaman chooses a day of good omen. Before the operation is performed, the head of the family burns incense and boughs of cypress, offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." For seven days after the operation no visitors are allowed to enter the courtyard, at the gate of which are hung a bough of cypress and a skein of wool as a sign that a horse has been gelded.[6a]

Rich people with large herds brand a mark on the left hip of horses and cows. Sheep are marked by cutting a rough design in the ear or by clipping out a piece of the ear. The Monguors are remarkably gifted at tracking lost animals. Chinese whose animals have strayed or been stolen always ask a Monguor to track them, and a tracker will follow the trail for many days.

231 462 It is women's work, except where shepherds are hired, to take care of the livestock in their stalls and pens and also to go out with them to pasture in the summer rainy season when the grass grows quickly.

231 463 Shepherds are the best paid among those Monguors who work for hire, because of the capital value of the

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[6a] Note that the same emblems are used to mark the tabu of a room in which childbirth has taken place, as described above. They are, therefore, tabu marks which are not restricted to a single kind of tabu.—O. L.

231 463 animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

231 648 When there is not enough rain and the pasture is poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

231 The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

231 251 An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that during his lifetime he remembered four different occasions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 136 The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and poison, but because the region has become too thickly populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is

224 hunted in the forests of Hsimi. This animal has the habit of making and following a small beaten trail along 136 which it goes always to the same place to drop its dung—which is done regularly at the same time of day—and to rub itself against small trees. When such a trail has been found the hunter studies it carefully to determine the best place to attach a running noose to a small tree, which is then bent over and attached to a stake in such a manner that when the deer, going along the trail, puts its head in the noose, the stake is knocked aside, the tree springs up, and the more the deer struggles the 224 more quickly it is strangled. The hunter lies hidden watching the trap and the moment the deer is caught he 137 rushes out with a knife to cut out the precious musk pod, which is on the surface of the stomach, near the genitalia. It is believed that the pod must be cut out immediately because otherwise the blood inside the pod will be absorbed into the body of the animal, and the "virtue" of the musk will be lost.

The musk-deer hunters admit that adulteration of this valuable commodity begins the moment that the animal is caught. Musk pods are sold by weight, and therefore as soon as he has cut out the pod the hunter stuffs it with blood and shredded liver from the deer in order to increase the weight. It is seldom that one can buy unadulterated musk in the shops of the Chinese dealers, because in addition to what is done by the hunters themselves to increase the weight, no one knows what the dealers add.

226 Although the lamas and most (though not all) Mongols abhor the eating of fish, considering that taking 648 the lives of the fish is a sin that will affect the sinner's next incarnation, the Monguors do engage in considerable fishing in Kukunor.[7] As soon as the lake has frozen in winter, small expeditions go from the Monguor country to the lake. Such an expedition lasts for about two months, and the Monguors are back by New Year's Eve of the lunar calendar, which comes usually toward the end of February or the beginning of March. The Monguors go first to see the chief of the Mongol or

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[7] Kukunor, the "Azure Lake," is 230 miles in circumference, at an altitude of 10,900 feet above sea level. (W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas,* 120, New York, Century, 1891.) The water is salty. Two rivers run into the lake, the bottom of which is covered with sand and small stones. One big island rises out of the water and is inhabited by a few lamas, who only in wintertime, when the lake is frozen, can come ashore, since no boats are used on the lake. At that time the Tibetans drive horses and sheep to the island in order that they may graze and breed; colts and lambs bred on the island are assumed to be a blessing for the herds. The famous *Ch'ien-li-ma* (horses which are reputed to run 1,000 *li* or approximately 300 miles in one day) celebrated as long ago as the Han dynasty, are said to be bred on the island, whose grass is reputed wonderfully nutritive for animals. There are three kinds of fishes in the lake, where fish are plentiful: *schizopygopsis przewalskii, schizopygopsis leptocephalus,* and *schizopygopsis gracilis.* They weigh from three to five and seven pounds (Przewalskii, *Reisen in der Mongolei, in das Gebiet der Tanguten und den Wüsten Nordtibets,* 140, Jena, 1873).

[p 113b]

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Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose territory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe. The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

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Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

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In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade, transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an energetic and enterprising people, even more hard working and indefatigable than other Chinese. They willingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441
Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries
and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers,
the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with
the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest
[452] at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement,
the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor
farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is
bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured
at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure,
draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring
the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on
rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

231 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be
463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the
563 Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and
441 oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and
both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The
most important season is the autumn, when the animals
are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for
a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to
prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs
231 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled
441 by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and
sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of
the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with
dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the
donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the
basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their
appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

231 donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively
441 well because they have not been confined and fed
in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open
[237] around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy
pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a
large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to
Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from
there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send
their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this
237 buying is done directly in the homes of families that
have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor
443 children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted
439 with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out
processes of bargaining. Much of the buying
in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially
Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by
women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth,
cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments,
[436] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are
usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small
[203] quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for
Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place
to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to
the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining
is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of
the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as
they travel.

442 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs.
Two or three times a year every important monastery
296 holds special religious performances, around which there
spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after
543 paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their
tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads
all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and
plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in
addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes
and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes,
wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack
[232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases.
To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses,
cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract
Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances.
579 In the afternoons there are horse races and
wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking,
and often, when there has been too much drinking,
fights between clans and villages.

463 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance
439 caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the
medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy,
484 France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big
men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet
and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small
merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods,
attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan
lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

463 Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great
monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on
439 pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and
partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world.
484 Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his
own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

439 The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining
during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and re-
484 turns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the
following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to
travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear
of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as
439 the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and
travelers these large and well defended caravans are
484 seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have
traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really
608 depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In
651 each territory through which the caravan is to travel,
the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one
of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new
tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

439 presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his
tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents
484 consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton
textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day,
608 when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet,
the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his
651 brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

439 On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with
them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in
484 narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

439 The young Monguors who have once worked with
the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want
484 to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people,
with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery.
583 The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

342 The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

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[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L.

[P. 116a]

342 need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

342 778 Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

352 353 The Monguors do not have much in the way of furniture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

372 237 352 The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

352 372 512 412 521 During the winter the Monguor men, who work so much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house. A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff. This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

[p. 116 b]

FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[715] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.) [252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

262 flour. Noodles are also made with barley flour. Another way of preparing barley flour is to roast it in a pan. Not much millet is eaten. Linseed oil and colza oil are used in cooking. Each family has its own grindstone, mills its own flour and bakes its own bread.

[214] After the morning cup of tea and piece of bread a breakfast of noodles is eaten about nine o'clock. Tea and bread are taken again at noon. The main meal of
252 the day is eaten in the evening. It is prepared by slowly stirring barley flour into boiling water, sometimes with the addition of potatoes and flour made from dried peas. A little oil is always added to this mixture. Vegetables are eaten as relishes or side dishes, usually after being fermented in a mixture of brine and a little vinegar. This method of pickling provides the salt in the diet and makes the salt (which is expensive because of local taxes) go further. Each family plants its own vegetables, but fruit has to be brought from the city or bought from peddlars.

A special sweet dish is made by gathering ears of barley in July, before they are fully ripe, and steaming them. Unlike the Chinese and in keeping with their Mongol traditions, Monguor women milk the cows and sheep and make butter; but because they do not have enough livestock, butter is a luxury and is eaten only by the elders. Another luxury dish is made by kneading sugar into dough, shaping the dough into small rolls, and cooking them in boiling oil. These sweet rolls are a luxury because the sugar has to be bought.

264 Although there is nothing complicated about Monguor cooking, men seldom prepare food and all work in the kitchen is done by the women. Cleanliness and neatness are prized. Women wash their hands every time they enter the kitchen and the elders are always reminding them to be clean lest the god of the hearth punish them and their children be deprived of blessings. The children eat from wooden bowls, each child having his own. Grown up people often use bowls made of earthenware or rough porcelain, but in many families the only bowls are those locally made of poplar wood. After each meal everybody licks his own bowl clean before it is taken back to the kitchen. Some people however, in the Mongol manner, always keep their wooden bowl with them in the breast of their gown, taking it out whenever they drink and eat. The bowls are never cleaned except by licking. Chopsticks are used, but there are no spoons, forks, dishes, or table knives. At dinner time it is amusing to see each mother urging everybody—especially her own children—to take more food and to see how a child will draw its finger across its throat as if cutting it, saying "Oh mother, by Buddha I can eat no more."

273 The Monguors distill liquor from both barley and wheat. Although there are commercial distilleries, as has already been mentioned, most families distill their own liquor. This liquor, though it is distilled and not merely fermented, is always called "wine." It is drunk

273 [733] at New Year and at weddings, funerals, and other festivals. The women do the distilling. Drinking too much is a weakness of Monguor men, and the women also like to drink a cup. As the distilling is crude, the liquor is by no means a healthy drink. In order to avoid drunken fights at the great spring and autumn festivals, liquor is drunk only at the end of the festivities.

276 Monguor men smoke all day long, using Chinese tobacco and the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl holding less than a thimbleful of tobacco. Often, instead of buying a wooden pipe stem from a peddler, the men make them for themselves, using the leg bone of a sheep. The pipe is hung from the belt, balanced by a small pouch which contains tinder and some small flints and has a steel 'keel." To strike a light, a piece of flint and a pinch of tinder are held between forefinger and thumb and struck against the steel. Women seldom smoke.

733 The practice of smoking opium has to some extent spread from the Chinese to the Monguors, and wherever there is an opium addict the whole family is sure to be ruined. Some T'u-ssu allow their subjects to raise opium, while others forbid it.

CLOTHING AND HEADDRESSES

291 For centuries the Monguors have been proud of their national costume, though it is true that in some Monguor communities Chinese clothing had become commoner than the Monguor costume by 1922. The adoption of Chinese clothing is probably due to the fact that the Monguor costume was despised by the Chinese wives of chiefs of clans and rich men. The enrollment of Chinese families in the Monguor clans has also had an influence. In 1949 the Communists, when they overran the Monguor country, forbade the wearing of the national costume—presumably as part of a policy of obliterating the separate customs and traditions of small minorities.

The traditional men's costume is much less elaborate than that of the women. The trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are cut in the Chinese style with a loose crotch and baggy seat. It is said that in former days the men did not wear trousers at all, and even today the old men living north of Weiyuanp'u do not wear trousers under their gowns unless they are going to town.[9] Monguor boots resemble Tibetan boots, having a "shoe" made like a moccasin and a cloth leg reaching [294] to the knee. The legs of the trousers are stuffed into the boots. Sometimes the leg of the boot is embroidered. In winter some Monguors wear leather boots bought in the city.

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[9] It is possible that the Monguor tradition on this subject is confused. Trousers have been part of the Mongol costume from ancient times. On the other hand, the Tibetans, especially the nomad Tibetans, do not wear trousers, and it is possible that the custom among some Monguors of not wearing trousers is due to Tibetan influence. On the subject see Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Verlag Herold, 1949, and Ekvall, *op. cit.*—O. L.

[p. 118a]

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.
302 A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight,
[858] at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors
291 are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple cos-
562 tumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

173 291 562 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince, "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 648 The significance of the Monguor national costume even in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 292 562 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 562 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 294 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

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[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

462 stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton
cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn.
294 Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others
wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese —swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

554 The boots and the sash are important items in the
trousseau of a Monguor bride—they display her pro-
292 ficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, grace-
291 fully accepting compliments and congratulations. After
the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy foots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

292 For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn

292 and the inside gown is exchanged for one made of finer cotton cloth, dyed dark blue, green, or violet, and long, wide extensions are sewn on to the regular sleeves. Often two or three sets of sleeves are worn, one over the other, to give the illusion that several gowns are being worn. In order to heighten this effect, each sleeve is slightly shorter than the one under it. These outer sleeves are made of three strips of cotton cloth of different colors, such as red, green, or violet. Each of these strips is separated from the other strips by narrow bands of cotton cloth of other colors, such as yellow, dark blue, or orange. To add to this display of color on the sleeves, a woman in her best clothes may wear a red embroidered collar, a pair of dark blue trousers, boots with red legs and black feet, embroidered. Under the bright blue sky of the Monguor country, and in the dry air and sparkling sunshine that prevail most of the year, this display of colors is not harsh or crude, but gives a wonderful feeling of life and happiness, especially in a large crowd gathered at a festival. When the sky is overcast, however, the display of color appears too garish; but almost anywhere in North China with its yellow loess earth, mud houses, and dust storms, the whole world appears monotonous and depressing in bad weather.

386 The old vegetable dyes formerly used by the Monguors have long been replaced by German aniline dyes, which is unfortunate because the colors rapidly fade in the bright sun. The colors also run when the clothes get wet, and consequently if a thunder shower breaks over a festival crowd there is bustle and confusion while the women take off their fine sleeves, the lower extensions of their trousers, their girdles, boots, and hats, wrap them in bundles, and run barefoot for shelter, wrapped only in their dark blue gowns. Women who have reached the age of about forty no longer wear the false outer sleeves, nor do they wear brilliant colors.

292 In festive dress, the Monguor woman also wears a skirt, of the pattern that used to be worn by soldiers under the empire. This skirt, which is handsomely embroidered, is of a pattern originally designed for horseback riding. It is slit both before and behind and hangs on the two sides of the body, swinging as the woman walks. The favorite color for festive dress is red, and the skirts of rich women are frequently made of embroidered satin or silk. At home, a woman usually wears a skirt of the same cut, but made of simple dark blue cotton cloth. While at home, a woman must wear either the gown or the skirt, and usually both; the members of the elder generation would never allow them to be seen dressed only in trousers and short jacket such as Chinese women wear.

The importance of the skirt as an ancient part of the costume is indicated by the fact that in former days all Monguor women, even those who during their lifetime wore Chinese costume, had at death to be dressed in a skirt to be laid in the coffin; the saying went that

[p. 120a]

292 "one who is not dressed in a skirt could not confront the ancestors in the next world." According to tradition, Monguor women were allowed to wear this skirt by special favor of the emperor in recognition of the glorious days of the past when women had fought beside their husbands defending the frontiers of the empire.

The sash, as has already been mentioned, is one of the most important details of the wardrobe. When women gather together on holidays, the sash is the first article of dress that is inspected; after that come the boots. [294] The embroidery on the sash is the proof of a woman's skill with the needle. Custom demands that every girl, before her marriage, should herself make the embroidery on both ends of her sash, working under the supervision of her mother and with the skilled advice of other older women. This sash is worn for the first time at the girl's wedding, and after that on holidays. The ordinary woman has only one such sash to last her all her life. At the age of forty she exchanges it for one more simple in design.

Basically, the sash is a strip of green cotton cloth eight inches wide and twelve or fifteen feet in length. It is wound around the waist so that either both ends hang down in front, or one in front and the other at the back. Only the ends are embroidered, sometimes with a mosaic design, sometimes with flowers, or symbolic Chinese designs, or the Chinese characters for "longevity" or "happiness." Satin or silk handkerchiefs, edged with embroidery, are attached to the sash so that they hang down beside both of the hanging ends. A string of the old pierced Chinese copper cash is also attached to the sash, where it jingles like the bells on a horse as the woman walks. At home, when she is wearing her blue cotton gown, the woman wears a sash of the same material and color, without embroidered ends. If she is wearing her overgown of wool, the sash is of black wool with fringes of brown wool on both ends.

In addition to her "military" skirt, a woman also wears a waistcoat or sleeveless jacket of the kind worn by soldiers under the empire, covering the chest and back and reaching to the waist. This jacket may be made of dark blue cotton cloth, edged with black or brown velvet, or of red cotton, edged with black velvet and embroidered with gold thread. Wealthy women may wear jackets of satin or silk. The jacket worn at home is of simple blue cotton without edging. When a woman goes out to work, carrying earth or bringing back dung for fuel in a basket slung on her back, she wears a woolen jacket. Women over forty do not wear fancy jackets.

This jacket is not an ancient part of the costume. In older times, a kind of overcoat was worn, buttoned in front and reaching to the knees, with fringes at the bottom edge. These fringes were made of paper rolled into thick, hollow sticks, with tassels of silk thread at the ends. On the back of this coat was attached a small flag, also adorned with fringes. The silk handkerchiefs

292 hanging beside the ends of the sash now take the place of this flag, while the jingling of the strings of copper coins take the place of the rustling noise formerly made by the tasseled paper strips.

The following description of the costume of the Miao women of southern and southwest China shows many striking resemblances to Monguor costume:

> All the collars are usually so loaded with designs and embroidery in all shapes and all colors that it is difficult to see the color of the fabric. The sleeves, similarly, are covered with bands of fabric of different colors, sewn on in flounces from the wrist to the elbow. In some tribes the boys wear as many flounces as the girls. Among the White Miao the skirts have no ornamentation whatever except pleats, but in most of the other tribes they are hidden under embroidery done in colored thread, patterns made with wax [11] and a multiplicity of bits of fabric of various colors sewn on to the skirt. The Miao women make all these embroideries . . . they all know how to embroider, cut clothes, and sew . . .[12]

302 Even more important for a Monguor woman than her clothes are her hair and her headdress. Hair as black as ebony is the most admired. Many Monguors have a reddish tinge in their black hair, but women consider this a blemish. The way of doing the hair and the headdress are strictly ruled by tradition. When a girl marries out of her own group, she must adopt the coiffure of her husband's group.

There are a few exceptions to this rule. In the subprefecture of Maopeisheng there are groups of Monguors who settled as "colonists" from overcrowded regions. The tendency was for groups coming from the same region to settle together. When new brides go to these colonies, they are allowed to wear the coiffure of their group or origin for only three days—a sort of affectionate and touching farewell to the past—after which they must adopt the local fashion. Among the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, of Shat'o origin, where denationalization has gone farthest, sometimes as many as three different ways of doing the hair can be seen in the same family. I have heard Monguors of other clans criticizing the Li T'u-ssu for not doing his duty in keeping up the traditions of his clan in this respect.

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292 Under the empire, Chinese women in this part of China never wore hats. Monguor married women, in contrast, always wear a hat, even at home. Not only do the elders insist on the observance of this tradition, but other people would laugh at a bareheaded woman. At home a small, round felt hat is worn and on holidays a special hat, different for each group. Only when a woman has left her husband's house for a visit at her parents' home is she allowed to go without a hat—a sentimental privilege giving her parents the illusion of seeing her again as she was before she was married. In contrast with this custom is the fact that a woman who

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[11] This reference is to a method of making patterns, leaving part of the fabric exposed and covering part of it with wax to prevent the dye from reaching it.—O. L.

[12] Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, as cited.

[P. 121a]

291 has passed the age of forty and would not ordinarily continue to wear her ceremonial hat on festive occasions
292 will, if her parents are still alive, continue to wear it for a few more years in order to give her parents the feeling that they have not reached extreme old age. In such cases, the woman also wears for a few extra years her fancy extra sleeves and the other showy parts of her costume. After the death of her parents, however, all this finery is put away forever, and she wears only the small felt hat.

291 There are nine different styles of hairdress and hat, each peculiar to one Monguor group. The spellings
302 given below are taken, in simplified form, from the phonetic transcriptions in *Dictionnaire Monguor-français*, by A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert. The basic term for the Monguor woman's headdress is *niudar,* and according to these authorities its etymology appears to be obscure. It may be from an old word for "head," or from a word possibly meaning "bridle."

1. *rdziämu niudar.* This style is called "the Chinese style," from the Tibetan word *rgyami,* "Chinese." The Monguors explain that in early times this style was peculiar to the Monguors, but that it was adopted by the women of the first Chinese colonists who settled in the region. This explanation is reasonable enough, since nowhere in China do women arrange their hair in this way. The foundation of this headdress is made by cutting strips of black or dark blue cotton cloth six inches long and three inches wide, which are pasted together to make a stiff board a quarter of an inch thick. While this board is still wet and soft, it is stretched over a convex tile to give it a curved shape. A hole is cut in the middle of this board.

To dress the hair, a lock is first combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is combed straight back to the nape of the neck, twisted loosely, and tied with red string. The tress of hair from the back of the head is then brought up to the top of the head, twisted together with the lock of hair from the forehead, fastened with red string, and passed through the hole in the pasteboard "crown," and twisted into a "bun." Several pins three inches long are stuck through this "bun" to hold it. It should be noted here that Monguor women neither shave their forehead nor pluck their eyebrows as Chinese women used to do.

With this headdress there goes a pair of earrings which are made as follows: from the hole pierced in the ear there hangs a silver hook. To this is soldered a small plate representing the head of a tiger, from which hang five small chains. To these chains is soldered a plate with flower designs, from which hang seven small silver chains. The weight of the earring is held up by a string running back of the ear.

This headdress is used by the women of the valley of Lumen, near the sub-prefecture of Nienpei. The rest of the costume that goes with this headdress consists of

[P. 102a]

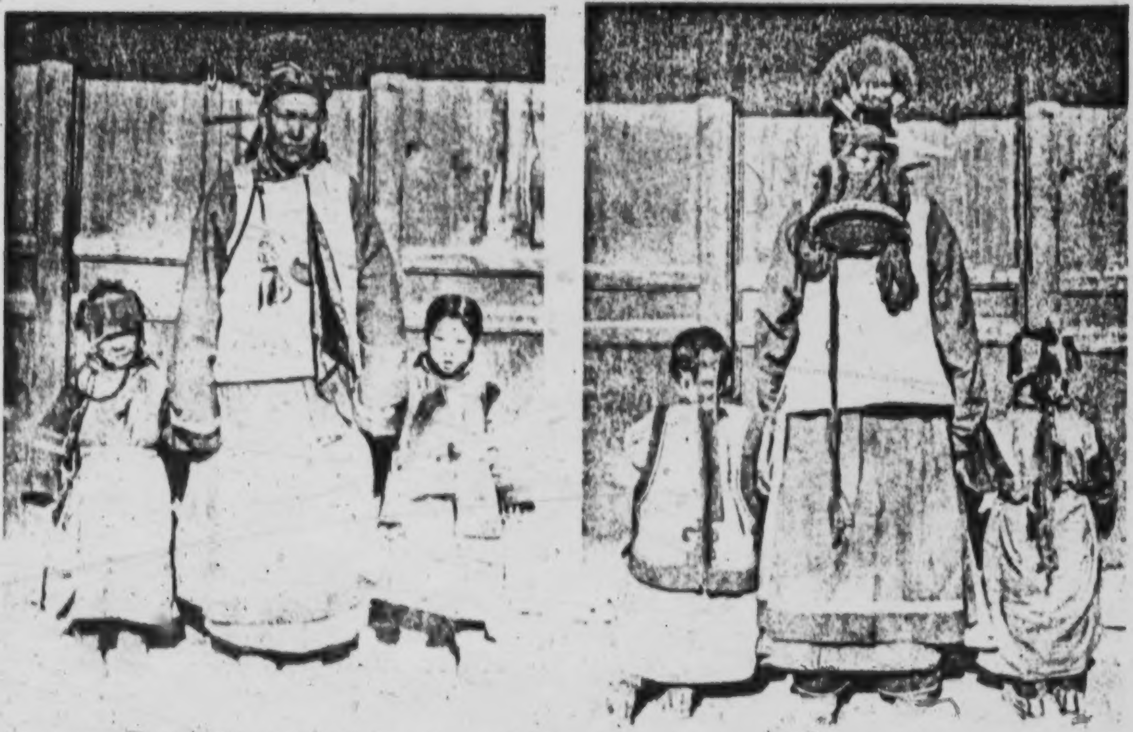

FIG. 4. Huari Niudar. Front and back views of a poor Monguor widow with her two children. She wears the headdress called "Huari Niudar." Note details: shield, spear, disc, red strings, shells, corals, etc.

291 302 a long blue gown reaching to the knees, a sleeveless jacket, blue or violet trousers, Chinese socks, and instead of boots a kind of shoe with long upcurving toes. The men of this group dress in the Chinese fashion but still wear the Monguor felt hat. The group contains subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu who still speak the Monguor language, but at the time that I was in the region they were rapidly being assimilated to the Chinese. It is worth noting that, although the women of this group do not wear the "military" skirt or the shield and spear described below, they are convinced that the way in which they do their hair is the original, ancestral style of the days of Chingis Khan.

2. The *Huari niudar* (or *Barbardzin niudar*, "crested hat"). This is the style worn by the women of the region of Huari, north of the Hsining River. First, a lock of hair is combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is parted in the middle, and made into two braids, one on each side of the head. The ends of these braids are tightly tied together with red string. A ribbon of black cotton is tied around the head. Another ribbon of the same material goes over the top of the head, and the forehead lock is tucked back into it. The rest of this headdress is made as follows:

A head is roughly molded of clay and strips of cotton cloth are pasted on this mold, to form a pasteboard skull-

[P. 122 b]

cap. A high, semicircular brim is pasted on the forehead of the cap. Strips of red, blue, green, and white cotton fabric are then pasted on the crown. A tassel of thin red strings is pasted in a semicircle across the crown of the cap, from side to side. Behind this tassel, small copper rods are set in semicircles. A hole is made in the crown of the cap; when the cap is set on the head, a ribbon is braided into the forehead tress, pulled back under the cap, brought up through this hole, and rolled into a small bun. Two long pins are pushed criss-cross through the bun, and the bun is then covered with an inverted copper cup, transfixed by a large horizontal pin. This cup and pin represent the shield and spear of the warrior. Thin red strings attached to the pins under the cup are looped up and attached to the "spear" pin. At the back of this headdress there is a disc, made by pasting pieces of cotton cloth together, trimmed around the edge with pieces of cloth of different colors and encrusted with shells, pearls, mother of pearl, corals, and turquoise, imitation and genuine. This disc is held firm to the skull-cap by red strings.

The earrings that go with this headdress are large and heavy. To the hook that hangs from the ear is soldered a plate with a dragon, tiger, or flower design. From this plate hang silver sticks or pins. To prevent these heavy earrings from tearing the ears, their weight is held up by a ribbon which is attached to the ribbon going around the head, and each earring is attached to the other by a chain encrusted with coral or pearls which passes under the chin.

This headdress is worn by the women of the valleys of Hungnai, Shuhmo, and Ch'angsha. At home, these women wear a hat representing only the upper part of the headdress, without the ornaments.

3. *T'oguäan niudar* (*T'ukuan niudar*). This headdress, worn only by the women of the region under the jurisdiction of the T'ukuan Living Buddha, is the same as the one just described, with the exception that instead of the semicircle on the forehead there is a three-pronged pasteboard fork. The earrings that go with this headdress are the same as those described above.

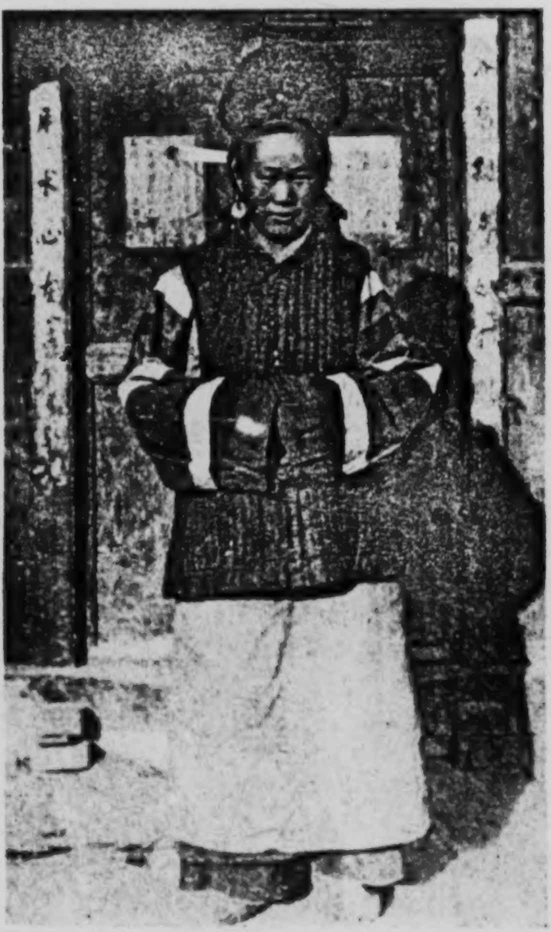

FIG. 5. Huari Niudar. A rich Monguor woman in home dress, wearing the Huari Niudar or "crested headdress," but without the encumbering disc on the back. She wears the winter jacket, wadded with wool or cotton, and is proud of her motherly sleeves.

4. *Sge niudar* ("great" or "honorable" headdress). The mold or skullcap for this headdress is made as previously described. On the top of it is pasted a miniature winnowing basket, for which reason this headdress is also known as the "winnowing basket" headdress. In front, there are tassels of red thread, and at the sides are fringes of red thread. In the middle of the front of the headdress there are pieces of glass or porcelain and one or two rows of pieces of shell or coral. At the back are eight movable copper plates, which are taken off when at home. In the middle of these eight plates are the historic miniature shield and spear, from which hang red threads. Under the shield there is a small crescent shaped cushion, held by the ribbons which go around the head. This cushion is covered with black yak hair. Whenever a woman goes to a festival, she puts hemp oil on this cushion to make it shine. This cushion is called "the heart of the hair." As in numbers 2 and 3 described above, there is a strong ribbon going around the head and a central ribbon from the forehead to the nape of the neck. A small braid is plaited from the forehead lock, to be attached to the ribbon going over the top of the head, and the remainder of the hair is parted in the middle and combed over the ears in graceful waves. The ends of the hair falling over the ears are twisted together, tied with a ribbon to the forehead braid, and brought up through the hole in the skullcap to form a bun, which is covered with the "shield" and fixed with the "spear."

With this headdress is worn a collar woven of tamarisk twigs, covered with red cotton cloth to which are sewn shells and corals. The earrings are the same as those described under number 2. A red shirt is worn with this headdress. Instead of copper, rich people use a silver shield, 8 silver plates, silver pins, and silver earrings. Ordinarily, this headdress is given to a girl at the time of her marriage by her parents. It is worn up to the age of forty. To protect the headdress women always carry with them a large piece of cotton cloth to wrap around their heads in case of rain. When a woman dies, this headdress is offered to a monastery. It is sold by the monastery at public auction, and prayers are said for the dead woman according to the price at which the headdress has been auctioned.

This headdress weighs six or seven pounds (four or five Chinese *chin*), and the women who wear it walk like living statues; when they talk together, they move their heads slowly and majestically.

5. *Dziou niudar* ("needle headdress"). This headdress is like the one just described, except that the eight plates around the shield are smaller, and that a set of large copper pins forms a sort of halo around the shield. This headdress is worn by the Nima women of Lungwu and the Tsanskwor region.

6. *Sgulong niudar* ("rain-spout" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the "winnowing basket" is depressed between the two side

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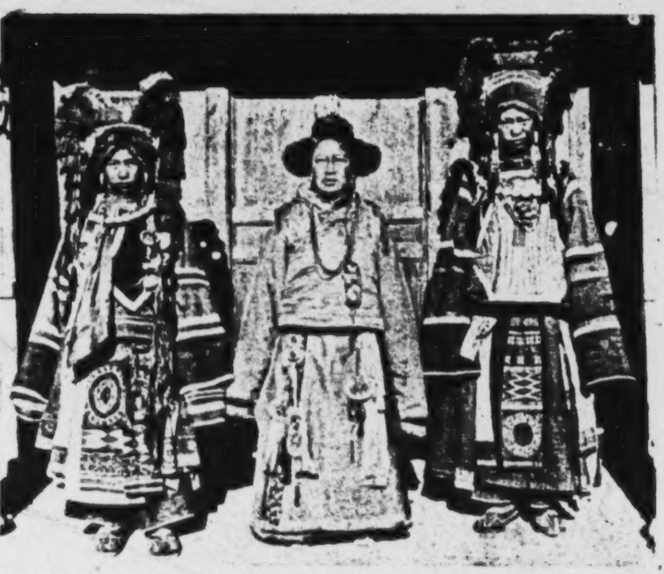

Fig. 6. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. The woman in the middle is of Tibetan origin but enrolled in a Monguor clan. She wears the simple Tibetan costume. The two on each side are Monguor, wearing the elaborate Monguor costume and the monumental "great" or "honorable" headdress. The photograph shows the pattern of the jacket, the double set of sleeves, the sash, the collar with shells and corals, and the enormous headdress described in the text.

[P. 124a]

bunches of hair, and is level with the "shield." It is worn by the women of the region of Areche, west of Weiyüanp'u, by those of Ch'ichiarechu, and those of Machiarechu of T'assu, near Weiyüanp'u.

7. *Yu niudar* ("disc" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the cushion covered with yak hair is replaced by a small disc adorned with pieces of shell and coral.

8. *Ndziäsc niudar* ("plow" headdress). This headdress is again the same as number 4, except that its dimensions are smaller. The red fringes in front are longer. Formerly, the eight plates were worn at the back but in recent times they have been replaced by a piece of red cotton cloth. The two tresses from the sides of the head and the small tress and ribbon from the forehead are fastened together at the nape of the neck around a small piece of wood, tied with red strings, and passed through the skullcap so that they hold it in place. The "shield" and "spear" are pinned to the knot of hair that comes through the skullcap.

Special earrings are worn with this headdress. They are made of silver in the shape of a *Z*. The lower part

291 of the *Z* is passed through the lobe of the ear and then turned up to hook into the upper part. It is said that 302 this is the primitive design of all Monguor earrings, and there is a tradition that such earrings were formerly made of bones. It almost seems that they might be a relic of the neolithic period before metal was used.

9. *Sogmu niudar* ("Mongol woman's") headdress, from the Tibetan *sogmu*, "a Mongol woman." This way of doing the hair, preserved among only one of nine Monguor groups, is that which most nearly resembles, in essentials, the Mongol style of hairdress. The hair is parted in the middle of the head and braided in two plaits which hang down in front of the shoulders on the chest. Each braid is wrapped in a sheath which reaches nearly to the knees, and the sheath is both held in by the sash and buttoned to the gown to keep it firm. The sheaths worn on holidays are embroidered. A small round felt hat goes with this headdress, which is used by the women of Patsasanch'eng and of the valley of Hualin.

302 291 182 Anthropologists often overlook the psychological importance of customs and costumes. It seems to me that

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in spite of the poor materials used by the Monguors, the clumsiness of the headdresses, and certain childish aspects of the festivals at which these costumes are paraded, it is important to realize that all this display, pathetic though it may seem, brings happiness to the people, especially the women. Whenever I attended festivals in the Monguor country I could not but notice the atmosphere of joy and happiness, especially among the women. The holiday and the opportunity to display their costumes gave them psychologically a reinforcement of their self-esteem, and when they went home they were better able

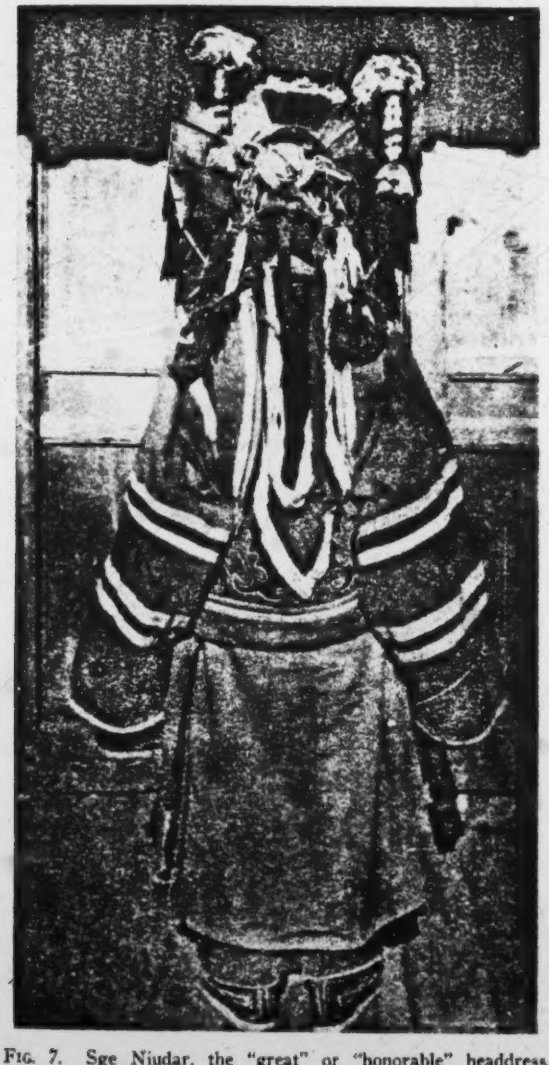

FIG. 7. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. Back view of the costume shown in fig. 6, showing the historical shield and spear, the eight movable plates, the cushion forming the "heart of the hair," and the tassels and fringes.

[P. 125a]

291 302 182 to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks, they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

291 Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

301 Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

778 Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

463 There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

286 The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

286 wool and spinning them with the aid of a clay spindle. Grown men spin while they are walking and boys while they are watching the herds at pasture.

The weaver is a professional who is invited to visit a household that has laid by a supply of yarn. He loads the pieces of his portable loom on a donkey, and works for a daily wage. He also makes sacks of goat hair. Sometimes he works in his own home, with yarn that is brought to him. For this kind of work, the yarn is weighed and the price is fixed according to the amount of yarn that is brought by the customer and the measurement of the cloth to be delivered. Since the yarns are spun by children and adults, at all times of the day, and are very irregular, the fabric produced from them is used to make working gowns and jackets for men and women and is extremely coarse and primitive. It sheds water well, since the wool has not been washed in hot water and the yarn retains its natural fat.

287 Felt making is also the work of professionals. For this a kind of screen is used, made of reeds. The screen is laid on the ground and the loose wool is piled on it. Each layer of wool is wetted down with hot water. The screen is then rolled up with the wool, and this bundle is then rolled back and forth for a long time in order to mat the fibers together. The felt is then dried in the sun and is ready for use. The same artisan makes, from fine selected wool, the round felt hats that the Monguors wear. When the round piece of felt has been made and is still wet, it is stretched over a mold to form the hat.

281 The preparation of the furs used by the Monguors is a household industry. The sheep and goat skins are washed, the fat is scraped off, and the skins are dried. They are then steeped in an earthenware jar containing a mixture of salt, flour, and the yeast that is used for fermenting wine, in the proportions of one handful of salt, one pound of flour, and one brick of yeast for each skin. The steeping lasts for fourteen days in the summer or twenty-one days in winter. When the steeping has been completed, the skins are washed in the river, dried in the shade, and are then ready for use. Coats made of such skins are cut and sewn by a professional artisan at the home of the Monguor customer.

326 Silversmiths make earrings, bracelets, finger rings, and the plates, cups, and pins that are used for the headdresses. They also make the sheaths that hold knife and chopsticks. The work done by Monguor silversmiths can always be distinguished from that done by Chinese, but as their work is done for a small population, it is bound to remain on a very small scale.

467 In spite of the fact that the Monguors, as subjects of
their own T'u-ssu, are exempt in general from Chinese
651 demands for corvée labor, in recent years carpenters and stonecutters who make millstones have been affected by these demands. The Chinese officials make their demands on the professional guilds; the individual worker is not paid for such work, and his guild must pay him when he has been summoned for unpaid official work.

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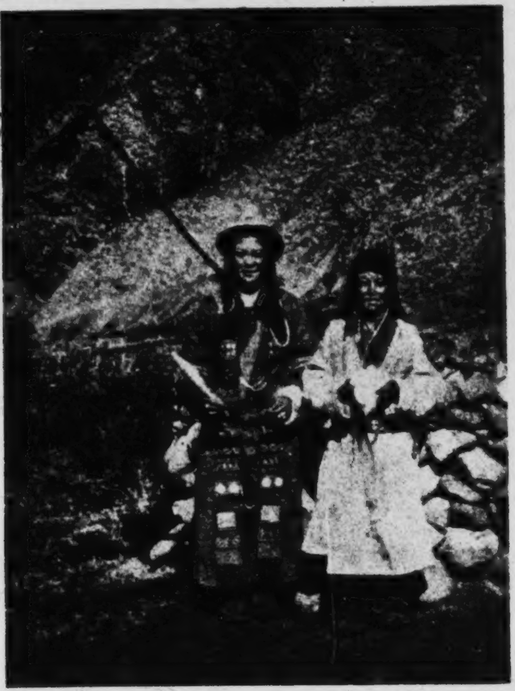

FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

467 651 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

756 177 467 The shamans are also affected by the need for association with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations, with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

462 ditions offer opportunities to the kind of man who is clever with his hands and with tools. As such a man usually works for people who live in the same village or are members of the same clan, what usually happens is that the "clever" friend is invited to come over to lend a helping hand. A large part of his reward is in the opportunity to show his superior skill. When the job has been done he is invited to dinner, or if he is a poor man he is given some grain. Such opportunities are not enough, however, to enable a man to become a full-time specialized artisan.

Two Monguor artisans, self-made men, gave me the clue to the answer to this problem. "If there were no rich people," they said, "and above all if there were no monasteries in our country, we could never have been able to make a living as artisans; we would never have been anything but helpers. Because of the monasteries and the rich people, however, we are able to work all the year round and to take on apprentices." For this kind of artisan employment, rich people and monasteries provide the materials and the artisan provides only the special skill in using the materials.

463 874 A youngster who is handy with tools and wants to become an artisan invites two elders of his village to go with him at the New Year to see the artisan to whom he wants to apprentice himself. He presents the traditional "scarf of felicity" and two pieces of meat. The elders stand as surety for his obedience and honesty. He makes nine prostrations to the master artisan and promises obedience. A contract is then signed by the guarantors, the master artisan, and the boy. The period of apprenticeship is usually three years, during which the apprentice lives at the home of his master and in addition to learning his trade works, without pay, at all kinds of odd jobs, such as preparing his master's food, and working in his fields in the busy times of sowing and harvesting.

After three years, if the master is satisfied, the apprentice prepares a sheep and wine and invites his master, his two guarantors, and the former apprentices of his master to a feast. He presents his master with a gown or a pair of trousers or boots, prostrates himself nine times and receives from his master a set of the tools of his trade. He is then himself a master-artisan, and although he still has to work another year for his master, he is now paid for his work. For the rest of his life he feels indebted to his master and bound to help him whenever asked.

415 313 [322] One of the minor industries engaged in by Monguors is the manufacture of wooden bowls and small wooden boxes. The wood used is poplar, which is turned on a lathe and then coated with oil. Another small-scale occupation is the making of charcoal. Monguors living near forests belonging to lamaseries pay the monastery for the right to cut trees from which they burn charcoal which they take to the towns to sell. Other Monguors buy trees as they stand in the forest, cut them, and saw

415 313 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 369 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 369 632 [487] The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 369 441 467 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole commerce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible; they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

177 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities
369 and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire
441 economy was dominated by the city merchants. The
467 fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

177 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during
369 centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious ex-existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries
441 of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic
651 and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 At the end of this study of the origin and organization
175 of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

nent to review the political character of the T'u-ssu institution, and the reasons for its decay.

There can be no doubt that the T'u-ssu institution was regarded by the rulers of the Empire, whether they were Chinese or Manchu emperors, as a makeshift. The institution of the T'u-ssu as "wardens of the marches," as it had existed under the Mongols, was elaborately established under the Ming dynasty, after 1368, when the main forces of the previous rulers, the Mongols, had been driven out of China but were still dangerous enemies beyond the frontier. The new Chinese rulers were only too glad to accept the submission of the chiefs of small frontier tribes who were willing, in exchange for the continuation of their local powers and privileges, to defend the frontier against their own kinsmen, the Mongols, and against the Tibetans. The device was one familiar to the Chinese tradition of "using barbarians to control barbarians."

Although the Monguors repeatedly proved themselves loyal defenders of the frontier, they had thereafter to contend against a counter-process. Any empire, in exact proportion to the efficiency of its centralized administration, prefers to exercise direct control of its frontiers rather than to depend on vassals who have some degree of local autonomy. Consequently, whenever the central power in China was strong, it tended to take advantage of local dissensions among its frontier vassals in order to deprive them of their privileges and to bring them under direct administration.

The policy of the Chinese empire on its frontiers had always been to absorb barbarians and to make Chinese of them if it could. Until 221 B.C. when the famous Ch'in Shih-Huang unified China for the first time, both Chinese and barbarians lived in tribes under a feudal regime. Ch'in Shih-Huang abolished this regime and organized China under *Chün* and *Hsien*. This was the first radical administrative revolution in China bringing "provincial" subdivisions under a "metropolitan" central administration. People living in the *Chün* and *Hsien* were considered to be Chinese. People still living under a tribal regime were considered to be "barbarians." At the beginning of the Han dynasty, in 202 B.C., the *Hsien* in which Chinese and barbarians lived together, governed by the same Chinese officials, were called *Tao*. Wu-Ti, emperor of the Han dynasty from 140–86 B.C., after his conquests which brought many new barbarian frontier tribes under Chinese rule, tried to make Chinese of them and to include them within the Chinese administrative regime of *Chün* and *Hsien*. His system did not work for long. Intermittent dynastic revolutions, and the numerous and bloody changes of dynasties which lasted for seven centuries, enabled the barbarians to reestablish their old feudal regimes along the northern frontiers. Under the T'ang dynasty, from A.D. 618 to 906, administrative units called Chi-mi Hsien were organized, in which the tribal chiefs served as Chinese officials but were allowed at the same time to administer their tribes

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according to their old customs. They received official appointments from the emperor, and had to bring tribute to him every year or three years, and were granted titles to indicate their feudatory status. The Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1280–1368) allowed non-Chinese "barbarians" to govern themselves according to their own tribal customs. The Ming (1368–1644) at first followed this precedent, appointing tribal chiefs and allowing them to govern their own tribes; but Chinese officials were sent to examine the tribal chiefs and their administration, troops, taxes and corvée systems from time to time. Later they appointed Chinese civil officials, whenever possible, attaching them to the tribal leader who held military command. Among remote tribes this mixed system did not work well, but the next step was to abolish the regime of the hereditary chiefs, hoping by this means to bring division in the tribe and to enfeeble it with every appointment of a new chief. Finally, when this system also did not work well, a ministerial order was given to avoid the word "hereditary" in the official request for the appointment of the new chief. By this device a son was prevented from succeeding his father, unless he presented a fixed sum to the high officials in order that they might overlook the formally enacted law. The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming.[1]

It is clear from this historical sketch that the Chinese empire, whenever it was strong and enjoyed internal peace, tried to absorb autonomous barbarian territorial units and frontier chieftains. It tolerated them only when and where it was unable to absorb them. The T'u-ssu institution may, therefore, certainly be regarded as a device that the Chinese of the Ming dynasty adopted for the defense of the frontier only because they had to. Not confident of their ability to establish direct Chinese rule and administration in Mongolia, their intention was to build up a buffer between themselves and the Inner Asian world of Tibet, Turkistan, and Mongolia. They were content, therefore, to accept the submission of individual frontier tribes which were unable to combine with each other in a strength sufficient to threaten China, but were able to supply small, separate contingents of good warriors to screen and defend the frontiers. The chiefs of such tribes they were willing to reward with honors and military titles; they were equally ready, however, when no danger threatened from beyond the frontier, to depose these border chieftains, to bring their lands under direct Chinese taxation, and their subjects under immediate Chinese jurisdiction.

It is a remarkable fact that the institution should have survived for six centuries. The reason must be that the Ming dynasty was weak along the frontiers during its first decades, and again in the period from 1509 to its fall in 1644, and had to depend on auxiliaries. Under the Manchu dynasty the T'u-ssu were valuable to the

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[1] Lung Shun-sheng, Article in Chinese on the T'u-ssu institution, in *Frontier Affairs* 2 (11–12), printed in Chungking during the war, 32nd year of the Republic, 1943.

[P. 129a]

175 Manchu policy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of preventing unity among the Eastern, Northern,
624 and Western Mongols. In the nineteenth century, as the dynasty became less Manchu and more Chinese in its characteristics, the T'u-ssu were honored by the court in distant Peking, and were kept loyal and complacent by gifts and grants of honors—a policy ancient and widespread in the Orient.

Practically, the main factor in prolonging the survival of the institution was the feudal right of the T'u-ssu to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, aided by the fact that because Chinese officials were unable to levy direct taxes on Monguors, life was on the whole somewhat better in Monguor territory than in territory under Chinese administration. As these factors later came to be equalized by the combination of the decreasing power of the T'u-ssu and their increasing exactions from their subjects, the most obvious phenomenon of the breakup of the T'u-ssu institution was the ability of subject Monguors to abandon their T'u-ssu with impunity and move into territory under direct Chinese control.

177 Among the disruptive factors within the Monguor society the most powerful was the enrollment of Chinese
563 and Tibetans in the Monguor clans. The Tibetans were culturally more akin to the Monguors than the Chinese, and easily adopted the Monguor costume, traditions, and language; but their matrilineal kinship system undermined the patriarchal clan structure of the Monguors. The Chinese, on the other hand, penetrated the Monguor society without being absorbed by it. When a Chinese asked for the protection of a Monguor T'u-ssu and enrolled in a Monguor clan, it was for the deliberate purpose of making the best of two worlds. His object was not to become a Monguor, but to escape both the taxes that he had to pay to the Chinese authorities and the taxes that, as a Chinese resident or trading in the Monguor community, he had to pay to the Monguor T'u-ssu. With their strong Chinese devotion to their own clans and clan ancestors, such Chinese were unwilling to go so far as to accept the clan name of the T'u-ssu. They tended to continue to regard the Monguors as barbarians, and to resist the adoption of the Monguor costume and language. At the same time they pushed themselves forward in the administration of the villages in which they lived and the clans to which they had become attached, and in so doing their influence was naturally in the direction of the Chinese way of doing things and the Chinese way of thinking.

The infiltration of the Chinese trend of mind into the Monguor family system and social structure was promoted most by those Chinese who became elders and chiefs of villages and officials and secretaries living in the immediate surrounding of the T'u-ssu, drafting and executing his orders to his subjects and discussing administrative topics with him. All official documents were written in Chinese, and in all administrative discussions and meetings the Chinese language prevailed.

177 563 In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the froniter under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

177 563 426 Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu, by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese merchants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost control over the revenue from land taxes. Under these conditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

624 661 In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also becoming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée, or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such

624 661 an official position, there was bribery also in the competition for official appointments, and thus the whole administration of the Monguor clans became thoroughly corrupt. The taxable body came to be regarded as a melon to be sliced. Apart from what was absorbed in the lower ranks through corruption, all revenue collected was the perquisite of the T'u-ssu himself. Since nothing was done for public welfare, there were no schools, there was no budget for education, nor was there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings, because all such work was done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans in addition to unskilled labor were available through the institution of obligatory labor services.

177 563 During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point. As long as the T'u-ssu retained more than a certain minimum of power and wealth, it was to the advantage of the Chinese officials to cooperate with them in certain ways. Up to this point, therefore, the individual Monguor, even though he suffered from the decay of the society of which he was a part, found it impossible to escape and strike out for himself. If he tried to leave his village and settle in Chinese territory, the Chinese officials would return him to the jurisdiction of his hereditary T'u-ssu. Once the wealth and influence of the T'u-ssu had declined below the minimum, however, it was no longer worth the while of Chinese officials to cooperate with them. At this point the Chinese began to abolish or override the privileges of the T'u-ssu, to take the Monguor districts under their direct administration, and to treat the Monguors in the same way as Chinese. An example of this changing attitude of the Chinese officials has already been referred to in the case of the impoverished Chao T'u-ssu who was unable to afford the expenses of investiture and promptly had his office discontinued. An earlier case was that of the Ch'en T'u-ssu, a supercilious and over-confident man who was so oppressive in his demands for taxes and corvées that he was impeached before the Chinese court by his own subjects, about the year 1875. His territory was confiscated, his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects, and he lost both the office and the title of T'u-ssu.

The Yeh T'u-ssu who did not fight the Muslim rebellion had his territory confiscated, was deposed, and he and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects.

The latest news I have had from Hsining since the new Communist rulers of China have taken possession of that region is that the T'u-ssu institution has been abolished, that the Monguor women and men have been ordered to change their peculiar Monguor style of dressing and to adopt Chinese costume, and that orders have been given to establish schools in the Monguor villages under Chinese teachers devoted to the new ideology. The two-thousand-year-old Chinese instinct for absorb-

177 513 ing neighboring tribes and making Chinese of them seems still to linger in Chinese minds, no matter what the official ideology may be. It will not be long before all the Monguor clans will have been "sinized," leading to their disappearance as a distinct people, and in the future very little will be available about the origins, institutions, traditions, and customs of the Monguors.

There remains an aspect of the life of the Monguors with which I have not here dealt, which is quite as interesting and peculiar as the social, family, and economic aspects; this is the religious life. Lamaism, shamanism, and practices and beliefs which seem not to belong to either of these two religions played a part of overwhelming importance both in the life of private families and in community life. In a later volume I shall deal with these aspects and their social impact on the Monguors.

APPENDIX

THE SHAT'O TURKS

175 Although a Shat'o Turkish stock is an important component of the Monguor people, a survey of their history will help to clarify the differences, as well as the similarities, between Turks and Mongols.

About 540 the Juan-juan, identified by Pelliot with the Avars and considered by him to have been, in their language at least, early Mongols rather than Turks,[1] controlled the vast sweep of country from the western fringe of what is now Manchuria to Turfan, in Sinkiang, and from the Great Wall of China to the Orkhon River in Outer Mongolia and the southern tip of Lake Balkhash in Turkistan. The tribes of Turkish stock called by the Chinese T'uchüeh were then subject to the Juan-juan. "T'uchüeh" probably represents a plural form of the Juan-juan name for these people: Türküt. The habitat of these Turks centered on the Altai Mountains, and they were well known for their metal working. The Kaochü, who have been identified with the Tölös, were their strongest tribe.

The Juan-juan were weakened by a feud between their ruler, whose name has come down in the Chinese sources as Anakui, and his uncle P'olomen. After several revolts, beginning in 508, the T'uchüeh overthrew the Juan-juan in 552. The Juan-juan retreated to the frontier of North China, where they took service under one of the short-lived dynasties that preceded the founding of the great T'ang dynasty in 618.

The name of the successful T'uchüeh leader has come down in the Chinese transcription as T'umen, but its Turkish form appears to have been Bumin. His success was due to the support of another Chinese frontier dynasty, that of the Toba Wei, itself of barbarian and probably Turkish origin. He died almost as soon as the victory was won and this led to a partitioning of the new Turkish domains between his son, Muhan, who received what is now Mongolia, and his younger brother, Istämi (Shihtiehmi in Chinese transcription), who received the territory to the west and south of the Altai. This was the origin of the Eastern and Western Turkish Khaganates. In good nomad style, wars continued both within these khaganates and between them.

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[1] The following summary is based on René Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 124 *sqq.*, Paris, Payot, 1939. Grousset drew on the original researches of Pelliot, Chavannes, Thomsen, F. W. K. Müller, Marquart, Shiratori, and others.

[P. 131a]

Among the Western Turks the most important tribes were the Tölös, who have been identified with Kaochü and have also been identified as the ancestors of the Uighurs; the Syr-Tardush, and the Karluks; less important were the Ch'umi tribes on the Manas River in Sinkiang, the Ch'uyueh tribes west of Lake Barköl, and the small Chuhsieh tribes who were called Shat'o because they lived in the desert (*shat'o*, "sandy slopes").[2]

There are a number of errors and confusions in the standard Chinese histories dealing with this period, the Old T'ang *History*, the New T'ang *History*, and the Old *History* of the Wu Tai or Five Dynasties (the period of disruption and war that followed the fall of the great T'ang dynasty in 906). I therefore translate here a short commentary by Ou-Yang Hsiu, devoted to the Shat'o, which is to be found in ch. 4, pp. 10 *sqq*. of the Ponapen edition of the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, a supplement to the *History* of the Five Dynasties, of which he was the principal compiler:

> Those who for generations have lost their history are numerous. Is that the fault only of the official historians? The ancestors of the Li family originated among the Western Turks. Their proper designation is Chuhsieh. Later generations changed this to Shat'o, but they used Chuhsieh as their surname and [recognized] Panyehku[3] as their ancestor. The authors in their own preface say that Shat'o is the desert of Peit'ing [Beshbalik; the region of Urumchi or Tihua in Sinkiang]. When T'ai Tsung [627-649] of the T'ang dynasty broke up the tribes of the Western Turks, he assigned the people of T'unglop'uku to that desert and established there the *fu* [administrative district] of Shat'o and made their ancestor Panyehku Tutu [governor]; and he passed this office to his offspring for many generations. They were all Tutu of Shat'o. For that reason later generations adopted this designation.
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> When I examine the history, all these sayings are wrong. The barbarians I and Ti [traditional Chinese classifications of "barbarians"] have no surnames [clan names]. The designation Chuhsieh is a tribal name. Panyehku was a man contemporaneous with the Chuhsieh and he was not the ancestor of the Shat'o. During the reign of T'ai Tsung there never existed a *fu* of Shat'o. When T'ang T'ai Tsung broke up the Western Turks and reorganized their tribes, he established thirteen *chou* [administrative districts] and appointed T'unglo to be Tutufu of Ch'iulin, P'uku to be Tutufu of Chinwei, Panyehku to be Tutufu of Yulu. There never existed a *fu* of Shat'o.

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[2] Such, at least, is the clear traditional Chinese explanation of the name. For the possibility that "Shat'o" represents the name "Sart," see Mr. Lattimore's Introduction.

[3] E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, Collected works of the Orkhon expedition, 352, St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, 1903, suggests that this is probably not the name of a man but that of a tribe, the Yer-Bayirkou.—O. L.

> At that time among the western tribes the Ashihna of the Yent'o tribe of the Tölös were the most important. Among the other tribes there were the tribes of T'unglo, P'uku, Panyehku and others; these, more than ten in number, were smaller than the tribe of Ashihna, and there were also the tribes of Ch'uyueh and Ch'umi which were still smaller. Chuhsieh was the name of another division of the Ch'uyueh tribe; in 648 it has submitted to Panyehku.
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> In 649 Holu of the Ashihna revolted.[4] In 651 the Ch'uyueh and Chuhsieh tribes, having been left to one side looking on at the rebellion, followed Holu in revolt and fought on the Old Mountain and were defeated by the general Ch'ipiho. Thereafter they vanished and did not appear again. After 150 or 160 years, during the reign of the emperor Hsien Tsung [806–820] there were Chinchung and his son Chihi of the Chuhsieh tribe who presented themselves to China and called themselves by the [tribal] name Shat'o, having the surname of Chuhsieh. Shat'o is the name of a desert, south of the mountain Chinsha and east of the lake Barkol. Because the Chuhsieh of old lived in that desert they were called Shat'o Turks; but because the barbarians have no script for recording and because the Chuhsieh were a small tribe unworthy of record, later generations lost their history. When the grandson of Chinchung received the gift of the [T'ang dynasty imperial clan] surname Li and the family of Li later became famous, then the barbarians regarded the Shat'o as a noble race.

Such is Ou-Yang Hsiu's rectification of the record of the identity of the Shat'o, their origin, and their former habitation.

The next question is when and why the Shat'o came to China and submitted to the T'ang empire. The following is the account given in the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, Ponapen edition, ch. 4, p. 1:

> During the reign of the emperor Te Tsung [780–804] Chinchung of the Chuhsieh tribe lived in the *chou* Chinnan near Beshbalik. During the period Cheng Yuan [785–804; part of the reign of Te Tsung] the T'ufan [Tibetan] Tsanpu [possibly a Chinese transcription of Tibetan *gyalpo*, "king."—O. L.] attacked and took Beshbalik [in 790]. He transferred Chinchung to Kanchou, using him to hold that city. Later Tsanpu was defeated by the Uighurs. Chinchung with his son Chihi went eastward. Tsanpu, angrily pursuing them, caught up with them at the Stone Gate Pass. Chinchung fought and died, and Chihi alone went on to submit to the T'ang, who quartered

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[4] In Grousset, *op. cit.*, 150, this chieftain is called "a khan of the Tulu," and the passage dealing with him is referred to E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, cited above, 32–38, translating passages from the Old T'ang *History;* but in fact the passages cited by Chavannes support the source here translated by Father Schram. In Grousset, the name of the general who defeated Holu is given as Su Ting-fang (adjusting the French transcription to the usual English transcription); but reference to Chavannes supports the "Ch'ipiho" (see below) of Father Schram's source. The discrepancies are explained by the fact that Grousset's text is a condensation. There was a khan called Tulu, but Holu was not "a khan of the Tulu"; there was, as in Father Schram's source, a general named Ch'ipiho (given by Chavannes, *op. cit.*, 34, as K'i-pi Ho-li), who was in the service of the Chinese, though he was a Turk; Chavannes gives K'i-pi (Father Schram's Ch'i-pi) as his tribal name; and there was, finally, a general named Su Ting-fang, as given by Grousset, but he appeared later in the story.—O. L.

him at Yenchou [the modern Yenan] under the command of Fan Hsi-ch'ao, the Tiehtushih of Hohsi ["West of the River"; i.e. west of the north-south course of the Yellow River, where it separates the present provinces of Shensi and Shansi.—O. L.]

It was Chihhsin, the son of this Chihi, who received from the T'ang emperor the grant of the surname of Li, with the personal name of K'o-chang. His son, in turn, was the famous Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son Li Ts'un-tsui founded the ephemeral dynasty of the Later T'ang (923–936).

In the New T'ang *History*, ch. 143, pp. 1*b* and 2*a* of the Ponapen edition, more details are given of the flight of Chinchung from Kanchou and the arrival of his son Chihi in Yenchou. This account first narrates how the Uighurs plundered the Kanchou region and made it insecure, and how the distressed Shat'o tried to evade them, and continues:

> During the period Cheng Yuan [785–804] the Shat'o tribe, of seven thousand tents, joined the T'ufan and with them marauded against Beshbalik and took the city. The T'ufan transferred the Shat'o to Kanchou, using Chinchung as their leading military advisor. When the T'ufan pillaged the frontier regions of China, they always used the Shat'o as vanguard troops. Some time previously the Uighurs had taken Liangchou, and the T'ufan, suspecting Chinchung of ambiguous behavior (for he had not helped to prevent the capture of the city), decided to transfer the Shat'o to the outer side of the river.[5] The whole Shat'o tribe was distressed and frightened. Chinchung of the Chuhsieh tribe, conferring with [his son] Chihi, said: We have, for generations been officials of the T'ang emperors, and unfortunately we have fallen into the present difficult situation [by dealing with the Tibetans instead of acting as frontier defenders of the T'ang empire in China]. If we went to the frontier gate of Suchou [Hsüchou] and submitted ourselves to the emperor there would be no danger of our race being exterminated. This, said Chinchung, is the right way. In 808 the whole group, consisting of thirty thousand people, set out, going by way of the Wutehchien [Utuken] mountains and then to the east. The T'ufan pursued them. They fought as they went, along the river T'ao. As they advanced toward the Stone Gate they fought without respite. The tribe was nearly exterminated. Chinchung died there. Chihi, gathering together the wounded soldiers, who numbered only two thousand, and seven hundred animals and a thousand camels, arrived at the frontier at Lingchou. When the Tiehtushih Fan Hsi-ch'ao heard the news of their arrival, he ordered that their tribe be settled in Yenchou.

A glance at the geography of Kansu is enough to reveal an ambiguity, if not a serious contradiction, in the accounts that have come down to us about this migration of the Shat'o.

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[5] Kanchou, at this time held by the Shat'o, stands to the northwest of Liangchou, and therefore should have served to shield Liangchou from the attacks of Uighurs coming from still farther to the northwest, in the present Sinkiang province. Kanchou stands, moreover, just to the east of several headwater streams of the Etsin Gol, which flows northward into Mongolia. The penalty proposed by the Tibetans, of moving the Shat'o to the "outside" of this water barrier, meant that they would thus be made more exposed to any raids by hostile Turkish kinsmen of theirs from Central Asia.—O. L.

According to the New T'ang *History*, Chinchung suggests to Chihi "if we went . . . to Suchou." This would have meant going northwest from Kanchou. It would have brought the Sha'to to a point on the upper course of the Etsin Gol. At this point they could, as suggested in the account, have made themselves useful to the T'ang dynasty as guardians of a critical frontier point on the classical trade route leading to Turkistan; or, turning to the northeast along the Etsin Gol, they could have set out for the Utuken mountains[6] in Mongolia—and most historians have taken it for granted that this is what they did; or—and this conforms most nearly to the text—they could have started northeast toward the Utuken mountains and then, swinging to the east and again to the southeast (not mentioned in the text), have reached Lingchou, in the great Ninghsia oasis on the Yellow River.

Against this group of alternative possibilities there is the fact that by starting first in the direction of Suchou they would have directly challenged the Uighurs, by whom they were already menaced. Still more contradictory of a migration route through Suchou is the mention, in the same account, of the Sha'to fighting their way "along the river T'ao," which is exactly in the opposite direction from Kanchou, i.e., far to the southeast. The identity of the T'ao is unmistakable, in both medieval and modern times. It flows from the Tibetan plateau on the southern frontier of Kansu, flows past the important cities of Old and New T'aochou, and then turns north to flow into the Yellow River. Both historical accounts (New T'ang *History* and Ou-Yang Hsiu) also mention a Stone Gate; and there is a celebrated pass in the T'aochou region that still goes by that name. If the Shat'o migration went through T'aochou, the logical route would have been from Kanchou south into the Nanshan ranges, by what is still the main caravan route, which I myself have traveled many times, through Pientuku and over the Obo pass,[7] traversing the territory of the ancient Little Yüehchih where, as we shall see below, Shat'o were mentioned as living in 939, and southeast past Hsining to T'aochou. Then, following the course of the T'ao River back to the Yellow River, they would have reached Lingchou.

Although this route would have involved a detour to the south, its general course would have been east, since Lingchou is east and only a little to the south of Kanchou; and this southern detour would have been much less out of the way than the northern detour through Mongolia. In support of the view that the actual route of migration was that over the mountains to the T'ao River it can be argued that this route would have taken them away from the Uighurs, whom they were trying to evade, and that they would know the route well because of the recorded fact that they had served as vanguard troops of their Tibetan overlords in raiding Chinese territory. For thirteen years, from 792 to 805, as recorded in the Old T'ang *History*, ch. 146, pp. 11–12, they had pillaged most of the cities and important villages between T'aochou and the region of Lingchou, Ninghsia, and Yenchou, driving off cattle, stealing women and girls, and making themselves a scourge.

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[6] Paul Pelliot, Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie centrale; III: Le mont Yu-t'ou-kin (Ütükän) des anciens Turcs, *T'oung Pao* **26**: 201, 1929. The name of these mountains in its present Mongol form is Otkhan Tengri, "Fire-lord Divinity."

[7] For stage-by-stage accounts of routes in this region, see Eric Teichman, *Travels of a consular officer in north-west China*, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1921.—O. L.

The foregoing analysis was written before the publication of Eberhard's valuable study of the structure of "conquest dynasties" in China, which contains an important chapter on the Shat'o Turks.[8] Eberhard adheres to what may be called the orthodox acceptance of the Utuken migration of the Shat'o; but, as will be seen below, there are considerations that make it possible to reconcile to a certain extent the Utuken version and the T'aochou version of the Shat'o migration, as recorded in the chronicles.

The next mention of the presence of the Shat'o, not as migrants but as living in the very country in which their Monguor-amalgamated descendants now live, is also to be found in the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*. In 938, after the fall of the T'ang dynasty, the king of Khotan in Chinese Turkistan (the present Sinkiang) sent to the emperor of the Later Chin, an ephemeral dynasty of Shat'o Turkish origin in North China (as will be seen below), a delegation with "tribute," consisting of products of his country. The emperor in return sent a mission of three ambassadors of whom one, Kao Chin-hui, wrote an account of his journey. The mission left Lingchou in January, 939, and was back in China by the winter of 942. In the desert between Lingchou and Liangchou he passed a night at the tent of a chief of the Yüehchih tribe. The mention of this tribal name is in itself remarkable, as the Yüehchih, a powerful tribe in the time of the Earlier Han dynasty, 202 B.C.–A.D. 8, had after that time virtually vanished from the pages of Chinese history.

Arriving then at Kanchou, he wrote:

> The Uighurs occupy the country. A [few] hundred *li* distant in the Nanshan [south] of Kanchou is the old country occupied during the Han dynasty by the Little Yüehchih; here there live other tribes, called Shat'o of the Luchüehshan [mountains], and they are said to be descendants of the Chuhsieh tribe.

Kao Chin-hui's note in passing is extremely important, because it establishes the presence, in the tenth century, of Shat'o Turks in the very region where their Monguor descendants now live, maintaining the tradition that their ancestors came to this region in the T'ang dynasty and that their chiefs are descended from Li K'o-yung. The text is one that has frequently been noted. Rémusat translated it *in extenso.*[9] Stein emphasized its geographical and archaeological importance in relation to the ancient trade routes of Central Asia.[10] Chavannes also noted the importance of surviving remnants of the Little Yüehchih,[11] but his frame of reference did not call for comment on the Shat'o.

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[8] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers: social forces in medieval China*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952.

For the purpose of a study of the historical origins of the Shat'o element among the Monguors, however, this text is of primary importance. It is indeed remarkable, in view of the attention that has been paid to other Shat'o groups, that so little note has been taken of the group here mentioned and geographically identified.

If there were Shat'o Turks in the region between Hsining and Kanchou in 939, how long had they been there and how are we to suppose that they got there?

We may take, as a point of departure, the fact that after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 906 Northwest China was for a brief time under the control of two successive dynasties of Shat'o Turkish origin, the Later T'ang, 923–936, founded by the son of the Shat'o warrior Li K'o-yung, and the Later Chin, 936–946.[12] During this period contingents of Shat'o tribesmen might well have been sent to the Hsining country; it was known to be splendid pasture country, and the Shat'o knew of it from their own tribal history. There is moreover a lingering tradition among the Shat'o-Monguors that Shat'o tribesmen had been sent to this region, by Li K'o-yung to take care of the breeding horses for the cavalry of the dynasty which, through his son, he was about to found. The tradition is reasonable in view of the fact that Chinese dynasties always set aside special pastures for the breeding of cavalry mounts—usually frontier pastures, because of the lack of pasture land where Chinese agriculture flourished.

After the opening of the tenth century, China, and especially North China, passed through a "time of troubles" that endured for three and a half centuries. It is true that from 960 to 1260 (in North China, or part of North China) or 1280 (in South China) the great Sung dynasty flourished; but even at the height of its power barbarians ravaged the Great Wall frontier, and most of the time the Sung were really a Yangtze and south of the Yangtze dynasty. It would not be impossible that the Hsining Shat'o horse-breeding nomads were able to maintain themselves all through this period of turmoil in their relatively out-of-the-way pastures.

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[9] A. Rémusat, Histoire de la ville de Khotan, Paris, 1820.

[10] M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* **1**: 178, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1907; the same, *Serindia* **3**: 1129, n. 15, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, with references to E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue,* and to Ritter, *Asien* **2**: 212, 1822–1859, who in turn cites Antoine Gaubil, Suite de l'abrégé de l'histoire chinoise de la grande dynastie T'ang, *Mémoires concernant l'histoire des chinois, par les missionaires de Pékin* **16**: 156, Paris, 1779–1814.

[11] E. Chavannes, Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei-lio, *T'oung Pao* **6**: 519, 1905.

[12] Eberhard, *op. cit.*, 90–91, stresses a point that is important for the understanding of such short-lived dynasties founded by military adventurers: Li K'o-yung commanded not more than 10,000 soldiers, from which Eberhard reasons that "the whole Shat'o population could not have been much more than 100,000 men." This minority, he continues, "reigned over 19,000,000 Chinese families or 53,000,000 people; the Shat'o were not even two per cent of the population!"

[P. 134a]

A second possible hypothesis would be that the Hsining Shat'o mentioned in 939 had not in fact been stationed there by Li K'o-yung at or just before the founding of the Later T'ang dynasty, but were remnants who had only recently fled there after the fall of that dynasty. If this view should be correct, it would mean that the "Li K'o-yung" tradition of the Monguor-Shat'o is a later invention—of a kind with many parallels in the histories of migrating peoples. On the other hand a strong argument against this hypothesis is that if the Shat'o had only recently come to the Hsining region where Kao Chin-hui found them in 939 he would have been likely, representing as he did another Shat'o dynasty, that of the Later Chin, to mention the fact.

Still a third hypothesis may be suggested. It lacks the support of any continuing legend or tradition among the Monguor-Shat'o themselves, but it is wholly in the line of the history of nomads. The Shat'o were a loose federation of tribes. At the time that they fled from Kanchou in 808, some of them may have given up and surrendered to the pursuing T'ufan Tsanpu, who allowed them to settle in the Hsining region, while the main body broke through to the T'ao River and from there made their way to Lingchou on the Yellow River. On the whole this hypothesis is the most reasonable one, because it would also allow for the corollary possibility that some of the Shat'o also broke away in the opposite direction, reaching first the Utuken Mountains and eventually Lingchou. This supposition would allow us to reconcile the conflicting mention of an Utuken line of migration and a T'ao River line of migration for the flight of the Shat'o from Kanchou.

We have next to account for the relationship between the Shat'o and the Mongols who conquered China in the thirteenth century. We have no explicit records mentioning the Shat'o between 939 and the expulsion of the Mongols from China and the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. We do have, however, in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 46, the explicit statement concerning the first outstanding Shat'o group that

> Li Nan-ko, a Hsifan [a term for barbarians on the border of Tibet], descendant of Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin of the T'ang dynasty, holding the office of T'ungchih in the *chou* of Hsining [under the Yuan], submitted at the beginning of the Hung Wu period [1368–1398] and was granted the hereditary office of Chihhui chienshih.

Concerning the second major Shat'o group it is recorded in the same source (ch. 42, p. 38) that

> Li wen, [nephew of Li Nan-ko], held the office of Tutu chihhui t'ungchih under the Yuan dynasty. He submitted at the beginning of the Hung Wu period and was granted [the continuation of] his former office.

From these notices the inference is clear that the Shat'o chiefs had been held in high esteem by the Yuan or Mongol dynasty and had been granted important frontier offices. There are moreover clear reasons for a benevolent attitude toward the Shat'o on the part of the Mongol rulers.

Although there is such a long gap in the record of the Hsining Shat'o, we have records of two other Shat'o groups. After the fall of the two Shat'o military dynasties in the tenth century, the Later T'ang and the Later Chin, one group of Shat'o remained in the north of the present Suiyuan province, in the Yinshan range on the edge of Inner Mongolia. Another settled in the south of Kansu province, on the T'ao River. At the beginning of the twelfth century these Shat'o were transferred to Manchuria by the Chin dynasty, barbarians from Manchuria who conquered North China, and later were allowed to join the Yinshan Shat'o. This whole Shat'o group later became known as Onguts, a tribal name from *ong*, Mongol corruption of the Chinese *wang*, "prince."

Pelliot established that both the T'ao River Shat'o-Onguts and those of the Yinshan were Nestorian Christians.[13] Lattimore discovered a ruined city in Inner Mongolia, just north of the Yin-shan, with archaeological evidence of Nestorian occupation.[14] Martin, exploring this site, also found other Ongut cemeteries,[15] and commenting on these Ch'en Yuan noted that one of the tomb tablets established for the first time that a member of the famous noble clan of Yehlü, of the Khitans, had been the administrator of these Nestorians.[16] Still more cemeteries in the same region were then discovered by Henning Haslung-Christensen, the Danish explorer, and Grønbech, a member of his expedition, showed that the inscriptions on the tombstones were in the Turkish language of the Onguts, written in Syriac script.[17] In this connection it is worth noting that there is no trace of Nestorianism among the Shat'o-Monguors of the Hsining region. The cemeteries of the ancestors of the T'u-ssu are on the Chinese pattern, and the tombstone inscriptions are in Chinese only. It is true that there are records of Nestorians in Hsining;[18] but the Shat'o of this region were fervent Buddhists. It was they who built the Ta Fo Ssu (Great Buddha Temple) in the city of Hsining, the only building of a temple or monastery in Hsining recorded during the period of Mongol rule.

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[13] Paul Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 623–644, 1914.

[14] Owen Lattimore, A ruined Nestorian city in Inner Mongolia, *Geographical Jour.* **8[illegible]**: 481–497, London, 1934.

[15] H. Desmond Martin, Preliminary report on Nestorian remains north of Kueihua, Suiyuan, *Monumenta Serica* **3**: 232–249, Peiping, 1938.

[16] Ch'en Yuan, On the damaged tablets discovered by Mr. H. D. Martin in Inner Mongolia, *Monumenta Serica* **3**: 250–296, 1938.

[17] K. Grønbech, Turkish inscriptions of Inner Mongolia, *Monumenta Serica* **4**: 305 *sqq.*, 1939.

[18] H. Cordier, Le christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale sous les Mongols, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 59, 1917.

The history of the Hsining Shat'o and those of Inner Mongolia can be joined up in the following manner. In 1201, when the ruler of the Naimans, in the present Outer Mongolia, was organizing a coalition against Chingis Khan, the chief of the Onguts of the Yinshan, Alakush Tegin, although a vassal of the Chin dynasty, warned Chingis of the coalition and offered to march with him against the Naimans. In gratitude, Chingis Khan sent him a present of 500 horses and 1,000 sheep. The Naimans were defeated in 1204, and in 1206 Chingis made Alakush a prince of the new empire he was founding and also gave his daughter, Alaghi Beki, in marriage to Poyaoho, son of Alakush. In 1219, when Chingis invaded Khorezm, he was accompanied by Poyaoho.[19] From then on for at least three generations princesses of the Mongol imperial line were given in marriage to the descendants of Alakush. A grandson of Alakush, the Prince George, was converted from the Nestorian heresy by John of Montecorvino.[20]

We are thus entitled to assume that when Subudei, one of Chingis' greatest commanders, invaded Hsining in the course of the campaign in which he took Lanchou in 1226,[21] he was delighted to find there kinsmen of the Shat'o-Onguts who were already allies and vassals of the Mongols, and that it was easy to take over the Hsining Shat'o as favored vassals of the Mongol dynasty on the Tibetan frontier.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF LAMA BUDDHISM

Since completing the writing of this volume and while preparing the material for the subsequent volume on the place of religion in Monguor life I have realized that certain aspects of the history of the establishment and diffusion of Buddhism in the Monguor region should have been mentioned in this volume, as they explain why rapid economic development and growth of population in this region began only after the suppression of the revolt of Lobsang Dantsin and the Lamas in 1723.

Until 1723 this region, called Huang Chung, had been unsuccessfully colonized several times by Chinese settlers as an adjunct to Chinese garrisons. These attempts had failed because of tribal wars and frontier inroads. The population had remained thin, and its components had frequently changed and moved. The Ming dynasty, beginning in 1368, had settled Chinese colonies and posted Chinese garrisons in only a few localities, controlling the rest of the region by accepting the allegiance of the Monguors under their various T'u-ssu.

In order to promote the adherence of non-Chinese tribes and the allocation of them to permanent territories, the Ming authorities granted special favors to Lamas who encouraged the tribes to submit to China. Most of these Lamas at that time belonged to the Red sects and were married, and could be granted hereditary titles and domains. They were also encouraged to found monasteries which had special functions in administering the tribes and collecting the tribute that symbolized Chinese rule. In my subsequent volume the names of the Lamas and tribes will be established from the Chinese sources.

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[19] Summarized from H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of north China*, 85, 101, 133, 237. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

[20] Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale, as cited, especially p. 631.

[21] Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, as cited, 290–291.

Under this Imperial patronage Lamaism flourished luxuriantly under the Ming dynasty and continued to expand under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty. The monastery of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, established forty-two subordinate institutions during the ensuing 119 years, and the monasteries of Sha-ch'ung and Kumbum followed the same pattern. North of the Hsining River the number of Lamas was very large in proportion to the thin frontier population. By 1723 Erh-ku-lung was inhabited by 2,500 Lamas. Of its satellite monasteries, Seerkök had 2,000; Chiebsang 800; Ch'i-chia-ssu 700; T'ien-t'ang-ssu 700, and Shih-men-ssu 700, while smaller satellites had from 10 to over 100. South of the Hsining River the monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, founded under imperial patronage at the very beginning of the Ming period, had more than 950 Lamas in the main monastery and its satellites. The figures for Kumbum are not recorded for that period, but must have been of much the same order, because 300 Kumbum Lamas were beheaded in 1723.

The absorption of a high proportion of the male population by these monasteries had a serious effect on the productivity of the region which should be taken into account in addition to the losses caused by frontier insecurity. Men who became Lamas were not only withdrawn from production but had to be fed by the depleted population. We may look also to this loss of manpower as an explanation of the eagerness of the T'u-ssu to enroll in their clans Tibetans and Chinese to till their domains, found new families, and above all pay the land taxes.

At the same time the influence and power of the lamaseries competed destructively with the authority and wealth of the T'u-ssu, whose subjects frequently moved in large numbers to become "disciples" tilling the land of lamaseries which offered them more favorable terms of tenantry. Such considerations helped to explain why in 1723 the T'u-ssu so willingly helped the Chinese military expedition which crushed the revolt of the Lamas. Even before this, in 1591, T'u-ssu forces had taken part in the burning of the famous temple built in Kukunor by Altan Khan in 1576 at the time of his meeting with the Dalai Lama.

Nor is it surprising to learn from the Chinese sources that the Chinese officials exulted over the crushing of the revolt and the promulgation of new imperial regulations curtailing the excessive power and influence of the Lamas. Hints can be found that the local Chinese officials held a grudge against the "barbarian" Living Buddhas whom they despised but whom it had been the policy of Peking to honor and favor, and against the lamaseries which had become possessors of large domains whose tenants were exempt from compulsory services and whose rents were exempt from taxation. There is no doubt that a dangerous situation had developed in the ranks of the impoverished T'u-ssu and the discontented Chinese officials.

Economically, the wealth that flowed into the granaries and treasuries of the monasteries was removed from circulation and did not provide surpluses for trade; it was either consumed, or hoarded, or used to found new Lama communities, and was not even used for charitable grants to the lay population. At the same time, the rest of the community suffered from lack of labor to expand agriculture and production. The economy inevitably shrank until it produced scarcely enough for its own consumption; there was no surplus left to stimulate trade and the growth of cities.

Thus the sociological and economic history of Lamaism in the Monguor region can be summarized by saying that under political patronage its growth was artificially stimulated, with the result that it expanded so fast that it disrupted both the economic system and the social structure of the country, making improvement and progress impossible.

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[For information pertaining to the history of the Shat'o Turks on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, see 1: Schram, AE9 Monguor, category 116.]